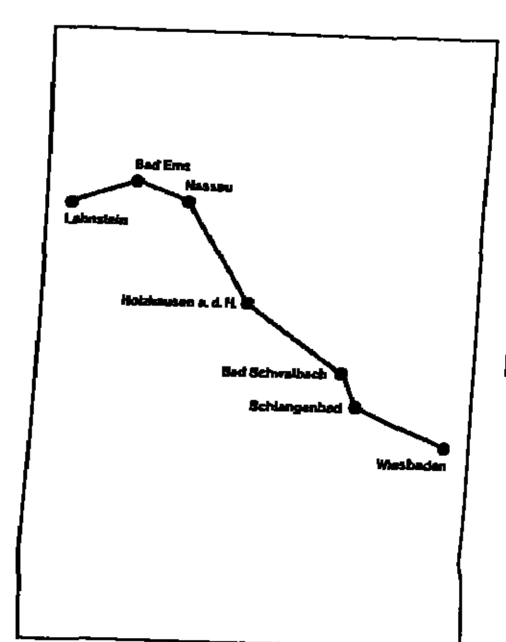
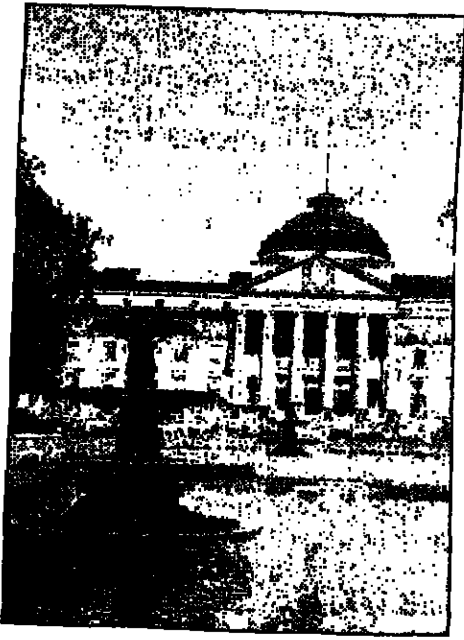


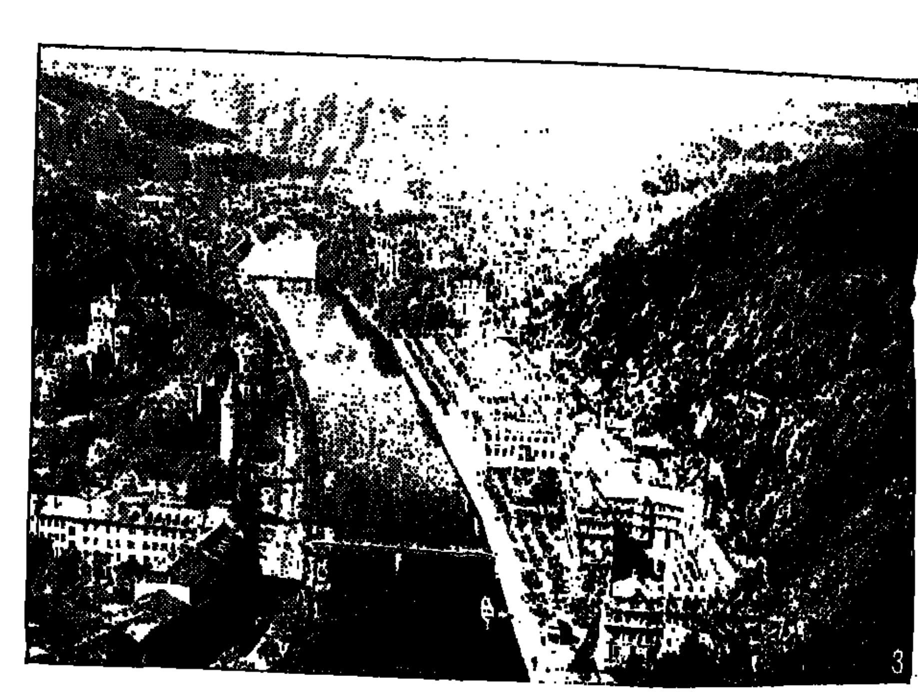
Routes to tour in Germany

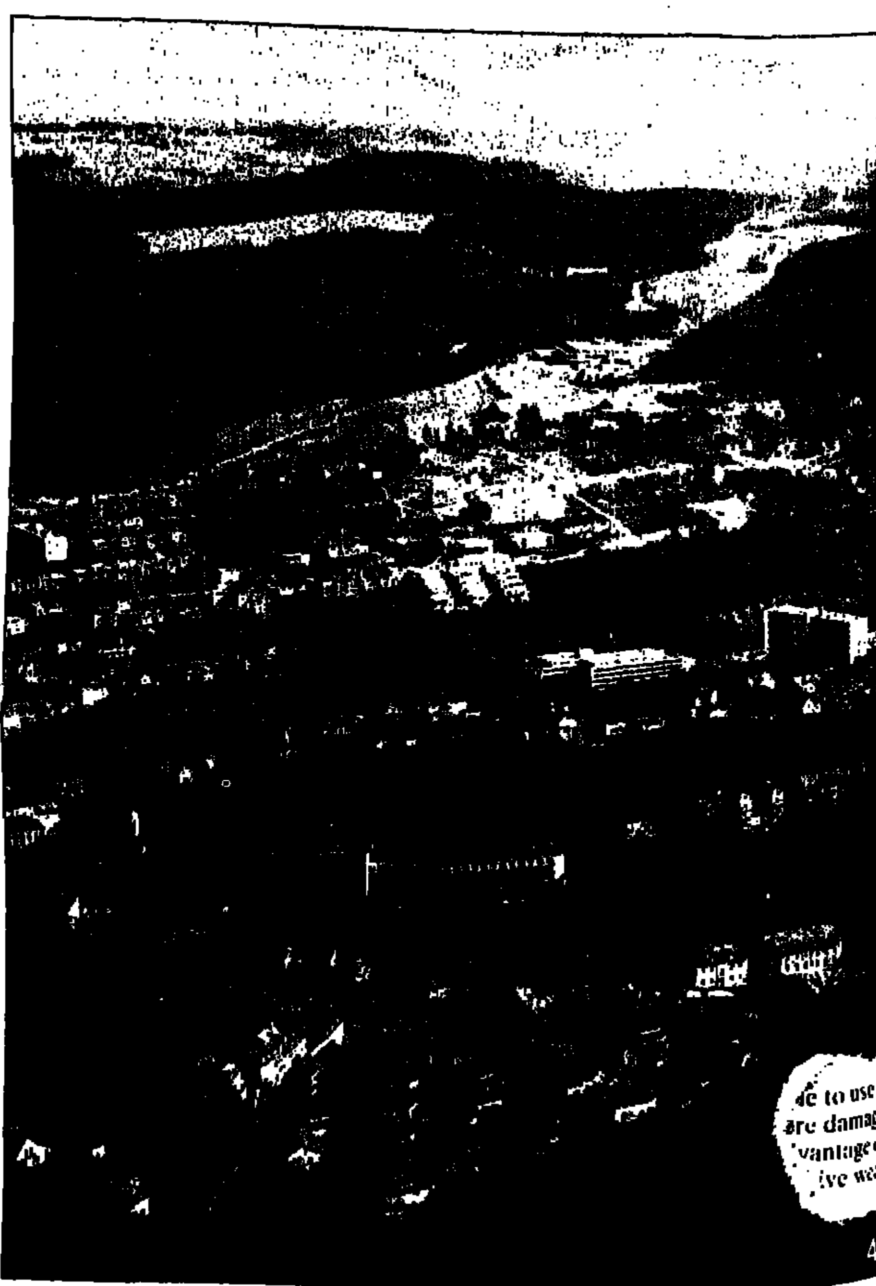
The Spa Route

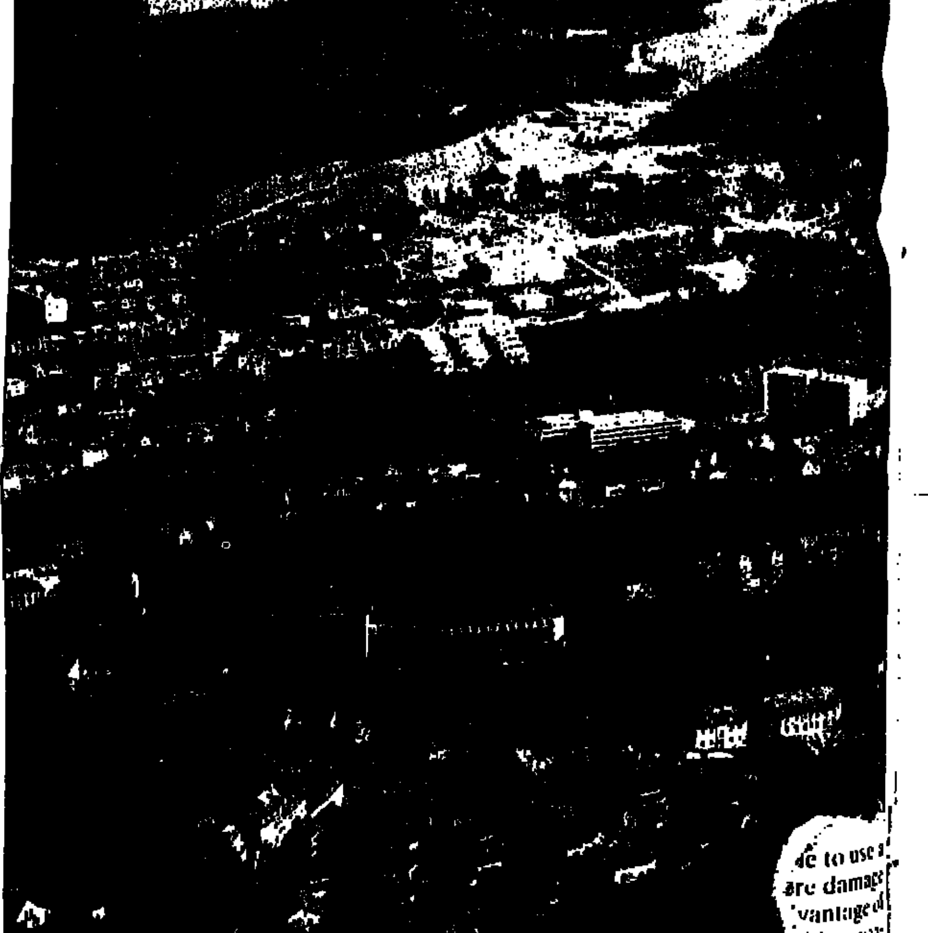


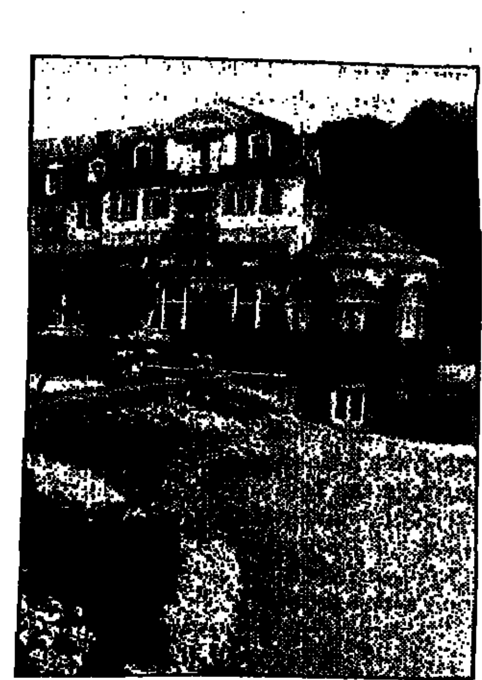
German roads will get you there, say to spas and health resorts spread not all over the country but along a route easily travelled and scenically attractive. From Lahnstein, opposite Koblenz, the Spa Route runs along the wooded chain of hills that border the Rhine valley. Health cures in these resorts are particularly successful in dealing with rheumatism and gynaecological disorders and cardiac and circulatory complaints. Even if you haven't enough time to take a full course of treatment, you ought to take a look at a few pump rooms and sanatoriums. In Bad Ems you must not miss the historic inn known as the *Wirtshaus an der Lahn*. In Bad Schwalbach see for yourself the magnificent *Kursaal*. Take a walk round the Kurpark in Wiesbaden and see the city's casino. Elegant Wiesbaden dates back to the late 19th century Wilhelminian era.

Visit Germany and let the Spa Route be your guide.



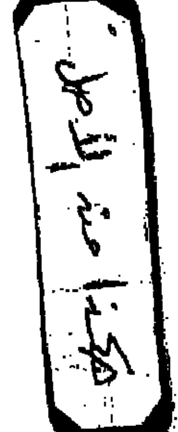






1 Wiesbaden
2 Schlangenbad
3 Bad Ems
4 Bad Schwalbach

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The German Tribune

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Uncomfortable three-piece jig-saw in the Gulf

Süddeutsche Zeitung

The United States is pursuing three objectives in the Persian Gulf. Each is justified on its own. Together, however, they sit poorly.

America's first aim is, jointly with its allies (but excluding Bonn, which has gone to ground), to keep open a much-vaunted vital link for the Western world.

This link no longer needs to be protected from sub-machine guns and hand grenades. Today's weapons are mines and missiles.

The second objective is taken from the catalogue of classic *realpolitik*. It is to prevent the victory of Iran, which in sheer demographic terms should have beaten Iraq long ago.

But this must not be allowed to happen. If it did, not only the Gulf but the entire Middle East would be exposed to an expansionist power.

The third objective is geostrategic, and as old as the US commitment in the Persian Gulf since the Second World War.

Despite the latest phase of cooperation in the constant clash between the superpowers, and despite Soviet "new thinking" and missile disarmament, Washington and Moscow remain rivals in the Middle East.

Sending in the US marines is intended not just to protect Kuwaiti oil *tankers* but to forestall intervention by the Soviet Union, which had previously offered Kuwait a similar facility.

Each superpower is keenly concerned to prevent the other from gaining ground. Neither is interested in irrevocably displeasing Iran, as the region's strategic centre, let alone in driving it into the other's arms.

These three objectives are hard to harmonise. Anyone who aims to defend the right of innocent passage from the depredations of aggressors armed with mines and bombs ought to do so impartially.

Yet in a single week Iraqi planes are claimed to have bombed five tankers, including the Iranian *Shiraz* and the Cyprus-registered *Coral Cape*.

Baghdad's interest is self-evident. It must prevent the Iranians from filling their war coffers with petrodollars to buy urgently needed weapons, embargo or no embargo, all over the world.

Yet if the West gives Iraq a free hand it is bound to undermine the legitimation of its policing role in the Gulf.

Worse still, it allows Baghdad the in- [illegible] Bismarck put it, of the horse stampeding the rider into an unwanted war.

The anti-Soviet line of US policy is fraught with problems too. The Soviet Union may be on the lookout for the main chance in the Gulf and leaning first to one side and then to the other.

Moscow may have supported the unanimous UN Security Council resolution calling on Iran to cease hostilities — while missing no opportunity of pillorying the Western naval presence in the Gulf as imperialist machinations.

Yet unless the superpowers cooperate at least tacitly the world will be unlikely to achieve its overriding objective in the Gulf.

Henry Kissinger defined this aim in 1984 as being that of ensuring that both sides, Iran and Iraq, lose the war they have now waged for over seven years.

[illegible] 1980 because it felt it could pull off a swift victory over its arch-rival Iran, which it saw as weakened by revolution.

Teheran has long made good initial territorial losses and now demands Saddam Hussein's head on a platter, or unconditional Iraqi surrender, as its price for peace.

Both have remorselessly extended their duel to involve innocent bystanders. Both pose a threat to the Western world's oil supplies. Both pursue expansionist aims of old that are not conducive to stability in the region.

Left to its own devices, Iraq would lose the war. It amounts to no more than what *The Economist* called a "dwarf keeping a giant in chancery."

The giant may be motivated by missionary fervour, but it is neither blind nor deaf to counsels of rational self-interest.

It well knows there is an ever greater giant, America, in the Gulf and it cannot be indifferent to being isolated throughout the world.

Teheran's response to the US raid on the alleged Iranian minelayer *Iran Ajr* showed how finely Ayatollah Khomeini's henchmen can tune their response.

Instead of directly attacking the

Continued on page 2

Bonn voyage: American Vice-President George Bush (left) with Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Bonn. Mr Bush travelled on to Paris. (Photo: dpa)

Both Bush and Kohl give assurances

US Vice-President George Bush has given a clear assurance that the United States does not propose to allow itself to be decoupled from Europe.

Speaking in Bonn during his tour of Europe, he said the United States has not the slightest intention of going back in any way on its security commitments to the Federal Republic.

These assurances are important against the background of a personal message by President Reagan to Chancellor Kohl in which reference is said to have been made to the better relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union.

It clearly follows that euphoria, and in its wake thoughtlessness in security policy, might follow. Mr Bush wanted to dispel any such fears. What he said deserves to be taken seriously.

The Chancellor made use of the opportunity provided by a joint appearance in front of US TV cameras to refute unrealistic inferences drawn from East German leader Erich Honecker's visit to Bonn.

When Herr Kohl talked with Herr Honecker he did his best to emphasise links shared by people in the two German states.

He now agreed with Herr Honecker's assessment, which had been that the two systems in Germany were as different as fire and water.

Coming from Chancellor Kohl, this sounded surprising. But what he meant was soon clear when he added:

"We are part of the free world. There is no price that could persuade us to leave the side of our friends."

This reminder was clearly aimed at those who invariably see the spectre of neutralism whenever Bonn tries to cooperate with East Berlin.

Bernt Conrad

(Die Welt, Bonn, 1 October 1987)

The struggle in the Kremlin

The seven lean weeks without Mikhail Gorbachov are over. A suntanned CPSU general secretary, slimmer but looking a little weary, was in Moscow to welcome a French delegation after his longest absence from the Soviet capital since assuming office.

Neither the food poisoning which *Bild-Zeitung* claimed he was suffering from nor speculation by other observers have been borne out.

The Soviet leader said one reason for his prolonged absence was to write a report to mark the 70th anniversary of the [illegible] revolution.

Friedhe[illegible]nded both credible and re- [illegible]hat it underscores the dramatisation of the past in the con[illegible] present debate, which was [illegible]intensified during Mr Gorbachov's absence.

Infighting has openly broken out among the Soviet leadership over how to modernise the sleeping Soviet giant. The situation is reminiscent of the controversial transition from the revolution and war communism to Lenin's New Economic Policy.

Modernisation, a revolutionary motive force in the process of long-overdue social and societal change, has again emerged as a tensile test and trial of strength.

The sparks are more and more clearly flying, showing that the system has ground to a halt while the reformers continue to order full speed ahead.

They have achieved their objective, perhaps unwittingly, of reverting to Lenin's late period and to the evolutionary development of his legacy in the years before Stalin's crushing victory.

Just as in those days, the 1920s, rival revolutionaries burst the bounds of Bolshevik fundamentalism, easing the reins that held back the proletariat and seeking to convince the masses by means of economic and cultural pluralism, so today's reformers are trying to resuscitate the idea of competition, nipped in the bud by centralised com-

Continued on page 2

IN THIS ISSUE

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Face-saving chance for the Russians in Afghanistan

SüddeutscheZeitung

The world's conscience quickly tires. It doesn't want to be reminded of the fate of ill-treated Afghanistan.

The latest session of the UN General Assembly is certain to produce the usual rhetoric of accusation, including a resolution approved by an overwhelming majority calling for the withdrawal of Soviet troops and self-determination for the Afghan people.

These are no more than ritual protests. The bombing, killing and dying in the Hindukush continue and will soon enter their ninth year.

The bloodshed is unlikely to stop unless the superpowers, flushed with the success of their missile agreement, were seriously to set about banning regional conflicts.

Political arrangements could well be made for Angola and Cambodia — and Afghanistan, on which covert consultations between Washington and Moscow have evidently made further headway than is overtly admitted.

In Geneva, where delegations from Pakistan and the Kabul regime have been negotiating since June 1982, three documents forming part of an "integrated overall solution" are ready for signing.

They commit Pakistan and Afghanistan to reciprocal non-intervention (which should cut off the resistance fighters' lines of supply), arrange for the return of over five million Afghan refugees and pledge the United States and the Soviet Union to guarantee Afghanistan's independence and non-aligned status.

At the last round of Geneva talks, held in September, the two sides made headway on the fourth document, on which views still differ, which is to lay down details of the Soviet troop withdrawal.

Kabul insists on 16 months, whereas *Islamabad wants to see the roughly* 120,000 Soviet troops withdrawn from Afghanistan in eight months at the latest after a peace settlement is signed.

A compromise that Washington has already indicated it would be prepared to accept would be a 12-month deadline.

Splitting the difference might not appear to be a particularly overwhelming problem. But agreement must first be reached on the transitional government to be set up in Kabul until the Soviet withdrawal, what political make-up it is to have and what colours of the political spectrum it is to represent.

The result will show whether the Kremlin under Mr Gorbachov's leadership has changed its targets and not just its tactics.

Even such hard-nosed politicians as Henry Kissinger and Margaret Thatcher took seriously, on recent visits to Moscow, the Soviet leader's stated resolve to extricate the Soviet Union from Afghanistan as soon as possible.

This desire is hardly surprising. Occupying Afghanistan costs the Kremlin $3bn a year and has so far taken a toll of 25,000 Soviet troops killed or wounded.

Yet what price is the Soviet leader prepared to pay to rid himself of it? Is he prepared to accept the collapse of his satrap regime? The popular front policy of "national reconciliation" pursued by the present Kabul leader, Mr Najibullah, has failed to break the back of resistance and can be written off.

No Opposition group of any consequence will be prepared to join a Kabul coalition in which the Communists continue to play the leading role.

If the *Kremlin* seriously wants to extricate itself from Afghanistan soon, as Foreign Minister Shevardnadze says, it may have to sacrifice both Babrak Karmal and his alert successor, Najibullah.

In the full pack used in the Afghanistan game there is a joker Mr Gorbachov is planning to play, to judge by his interview with the Italian Communist Party newspaper *l'Unità*.

It is Mohammed Zahir Shah, the former king, who has lived in Rome since he was deposed in 1973.

The 73-year-old ex-monarch, still very much alive and well, could be the much-needed unifying, conciliatory factor as head of state for a transitional period.

He might succeed in preserving a multi-racial country from drowning in a bloodbath of vendettas after the Soviet withdrawal.

The ex-monarch is a nobody as far as the fundamentalists who plan to set up an Islamic theocracy along Khomeini lines are concerned, but a recent survey has shown that 71 per cent of Afghan refugees see him as the only conceivable integrating figure.

They associate him with "40 years of peace and quiet" during his reign.

The Soviet Union had no cause to complain of Zahir Shah's policy of friendly neutrality. He would, moreover, ensure that Afghanistan was not transformed into a bridgehead of Islamic revolution on Russia's southern flank.

If Mr Gorbachov is serious about wanting to do his own country and Afghanistan a good turn, he will have to play this particular joker.

Olaf Ihlau

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 1 October 1987)

Iranian arms bureau report denied

KielerNachrichten

The Bonn Foreign Office has quietly denied a report in the London *Sunday Times* that Teheran was planning to transfer its arms-procurement bureau from London to Frankfurt. The story was based on American intelligence sources.

The Independent, London, felt the transfer from London to Hamburg was likelier. Bonn dismissed both ideas. "Out of the question," a Foreign Office spokesman said.

Setting up an arms procurement agency would be a breach of the War Weapons (Control) Act. Arms dealing, even between third countries, is illegal.

Although these reports are no more than rumours, they do cause alarm. Some such Iranian move would come as no great surprise.

The Gulf War is into its eighth year and trade ties between the Federal Republic and Iran are none the worse for it.

German firms supply no arms or military equipment to the region, but arms of German origin are in regular use.

Made in Germany has a pleasant ring in the ayatollahs' ears; it has done since well before Foreign Minister Genscher said in July that Iraq was the aggressor in the Gulf.

There can be no question that Frankfurt would, from Teheran's viewpoint, be a convenient place for an arms procurement facility.

As Bonn government spokesman Friedhelm Ost noted, it cannot possibly be given official approval. But what if Iranian buyers simply go underground, leaving local "cells" to handle procurement activities?

There could be no overlooking the foreign policy damage the Federal Republic would suffer. Bonn would, for instance, come into the US line of fire.

America has repeatedly called at the UN Security Council for an international embargo on arms supplies to Iran and now it has intervened in the Gulf while suspiciously monitoring its Nato partners' loyalty.

Washington took some persuading that Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution, expressly forbids direct military intervention in the Gulf by the Bundeswehr.

If Iran were to set up an arms procurement agency, officially or unofficially, on German soil Bonn would have little time in which to prevent irreparable damage being done to the transatlantic alliance.

Ralf J. Schröder

(Kieler Nachrichten, 29 September 1987)

The Kremlin

Continued from page 1

munist administration, by openly acknowledging social conflicts.

In the process they have run the risk of conflict in their own ranks and may even be said inexorably to have caused to it.

Just as left-wing Bolsheviks saw moderation in the class struggle as a new form of capitalism and fought the private sector of the economy as a betrayal of permanent revolution, so Mr Gorbachov's pressure for modernisation has led to an open dispute among the Kremlin leaders.

Is it mainly a mere struggle for power? Or is a wall built round Stalin's system being demolished and a measure of pluralism being introduced?

Public opinion is wielding influence on society, as in the 1920s, and not the transmission belt of Party instructions.

The existence of views opposed to the policy advocated by the leadership is openly acknowledged. Informal groups have been allowed to take shape alongside official bodies.

Following public appearances by Russian chauvinist associations such as the Pamyat movement, left-wing citizens' movements styling themselves "socialist clubs" were recently allowed to hold a conference, their first in 50 years, at which they called for improvements in social supplies.

And even though conservative members of the politbureau have issued open warnings to reform-oriented newspapers, the papers have maintained their policy of glasnost, or openness.

Novy Mir and *Kommunist* even went so far as to call for the publication of defence spending figures.

Back to Lenin also implies back to his associates later liquidated by Stalin, men who both harboured grand illusions and devised specific ideas on how to transform "the party of civil war into the party of civil peace," as Bukharin put it.

Those who oppose an open society and cling to the tried and trusted clichés of the enemy and confrontation patterns of war communism are now warning that "people in the West and some in our own country are trying to discredit the entire course of socialism in the Soviet Union," to quote Yegor Ligachov.

Mr Gorbachov's adversaries benefit from the fact that much of the population is opposed to modernisation because it requires higher ouput and lower consumption.

An old Western legend that millions of Soviet citizens are only waiting for more civil rights, for solidarity and for shopfloor democracy to work keenly and with redoubled energy has been shown up for what it is.

"This democracy is going to make people utterly outraged," people in Chekhov, a small town, told the reformers when bus drivers staged a spontaneous and justified strike.

Given this exacerbation of the situation it cannot be said to be taking sides when one wishes Mr Gorbachov renewed strength after his leave and assures him that the West appreciates his position.

The appalling end of the evolutionary phase of modernisation in the 1920s showed what consequences political weaknesses on the part of the reformers and lack of understanding on the part of the West can have.

Christian Schmidt-Häuer

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 2 October 1987)

Continued from page 1

"Great Satan" as threatened, the Iranians merely laid a fresh minefield in the Gulf — off the coast of Dubai.

Teheran is not prepared to entirely ignore the consensus that has taken shape against Iran at the UN.

It follows that the West, in conjunction with Moscow, has three useful instruments to offer.

The first is multilateral diplomacy. Even a half-hearted arms embargo under UN auspices is better than none in that it at least sounds a signal.

Systematic minesweeping by the Western powers is a second signal that sets clear bounds to underwater terror. Last but not least, there is the big stick to which the United States resorted when it caught Iranian minelayers in the act.

These moves increase the cost of further minelaying operations. But they will be of little use as long as Iraq, protected by Western flotillas, is allowed to continue bombing tankers.

That is unlikely to make Teheran more disposed to compromise.

Nor, for that matter, does it make the vital link with the Western world any safer.

Josef Joffe

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 30 September 1987)

The German Tribune

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Schleswig-Holstein election scandal raises issue of political morality

The CDU and the Bavarian wing of the conservative union, the CSU, are in dispute following a run of bad elections beginning with the general election in January. The CDU sees the middle ground as the place where votes can be won back. The CSU says this strategy is precisely the wrong one. In this article for *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt*, Rudolf Grosskopff looks at the conservative dilemma and how it relates to the smear-campaign charges in last month's election in Schleswig-Holstein. Grosskopff says that political morals lie at the heart of the matter and that, in contrast to some other countries, there is in Germany too little acceptance of political responsibility for scandal.

The meeting between the CDU and CSU delegations in the Bonn Chancellery was merely another demonstration of the lack of harmony between the two.

The search by delegates for common ground revealed only that the causes of the conflict are deeper than in any previous dispute.

There is a paradoxical aspect: it is that the election performances of the conservatives are deteriorating at a time when intellectual circles are starting to discover the appeal of conservative values.

The poor showing in the Schleswig-Holstein election last month when the ruling CDU was left in a position to keep power only with the support of minority parties, ~~was just another stage in the decline.~~

The election was accompanied by the smear-campaign row in which a former member of the CDU campaign team, Reiner Pfeiffer, was alleged by *Der Spiegel* to have admitted heading an attempt to discredit Björn Engholm, the state SPD leader.

Pfeiffer's doings would not have been necessary if the CDU had been certain of victory.

Pfeiffer's action was determined by a fear of defeat and not by the vindictive desires of one individual.

It would be wrong for CDU and CDU politicians or conservative journalists to



dismiss the Pfeiffer scandal as a mere regional faux pas.

The public wants a detailed investigation into the background of the affair, even though it realises that the admission of political errors and practical repentance are themselves regarded as wrong in this country.

The CDU and CSU are very hesitant in this respect.

The frantic search for a way out of the parliamentary stalemate in the Schleswig-Holstein state assembly in Kiel, where the affair has thrown doubt over the future of the CDU government, threatens to distract public attention from the scandal itself.

Premier Barschel should have resigned much earlier than he actually did (he stepped down on 25 September. The election was on 13 September and the story broke a few days before the election.).

Whether he knew everything, nothing or just a few details about Pfeiffer's intrigues is beside the point. If Mafia-style machinations exist in circles close to the government leader that leader must assume the political responsibility.

Compared with English-speaking or Scandinavian countries there is still too little acceptance in the Federal Republic of the extent of this political responsibility and of the fact that this responsibility differs substantially from the obligations of the head of an authority or company.

The circumstances surrounding the first publication of allegations in the weekly news-magazine *Der Spiegel* may have been dubious.

The magazine's editorial department should have taken more time to investigate the role of its controversial informant Reiner Pfeiffer, who, after all, was witness and culprit in one and the same person.

Nevertheless, this does not alter the fact his allegations have in the meantime been confirmed by others.

Complaining about the activities of *Der Spiegel* and the other media is very much like blaming the murdered person for his murder instead of the murderer.

Although the method of simply turning the tables is a very popular remedy for overcoming political scandals it seems particularly grotesque in this case.

Some claim that the *Spiegel* revelations on the eve of the election distorted the election outcome.

Others claim that Pfeiffer's allegations were responsible for the improper election result. Both claims are impossible to prove. However, beyond all procedural and tactical considerations, the fairest and most just way of cleaning up the political mess in Schleswig-Holstein would be to hold fresh elections.

The scandal is a further indication of how much political parties overestimate their significance.

The Flick affair already revealed their extreme inclination to equate themselves with the state and to view the acquisition or retention of government power as an end in itself.

Those who delude themselves that the well-being of society as a whole depends on their action all too readily regard illegal means of securing essential funds as quite legal.

Although the excesses in Schleswig-Holstein are more extreme they are equally symptomatic.

Both Watergate and "Spiegelgate" are marked by the same patterns of thought.

This touches on the heart of the matter: political morals.

Even the tenth or twentieth political scandal should not encourage us to accept politics as a field in which greater moral laxity exists than in everyday life.

The particularly applies to the Christian Democrats. For reasons of political survival they must broach the question of morality much more conscientiously than they have done so far.

Opinion pollsters maintain that the traditional structures of political loyalty and affinity are gradually disintegrating. In other words, more and more voters base decide on criteria other than habit.

So it could be said that values are becoming more and not less significant. Here, the CDU/CSU have some catching up to do.

Contrary to what used to be said, these parties and their Chancellor have allowed activities to be guided by the pragmatic dictates of day-to-day politics.

This, of course, is essential, but it is not enough.

Scandals of the kind in Schleswig-Holstein threaten to leave the party lagging far behind yardsticks demanded by the electorate.

The daily newspaper *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, which is certainly not anti-conservative, says that the "in every way disreputable affair" may deal a severe blow to Kohl's reputation.

It says "Barschel's resignation may one day prove to have been a decisive setback" for the CDU and CSU.

Both parties would be making a great mistake if they try to dismiss this scandal as just a northern German problem.

They cannot afford to let the FDP assume the role of the Mr Clean of Politics, but must show that they know the affair is a serious matter and are willing to act.

They must do more than discuss who made nasty remarks, why the farmers have turned their backs on the conservative parties and why there is still no ban on the wearing of masks at demonstrations.

A broader discussion is needed on the parties' public image. The affair in Schleswig-Holstein could and should play a major part.

Rudolf Grosskopff

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 4 October 1987)

Staying power — Kohl's great strength

Helmut Kohl has been Bonn Chancellor for five years: he might well still be Chancellor in another five years.

Shortly after the FDP abandoned the SPD-FDP coalition in 1982 to join the CDU and CSU, the Social Democrat chairman at the time, Willy Brandt, warned that Kohl should not be underestimated.

Since then, almost everyone seems to have got used to Kohl's manner of operation. One notable example is Franz Josef Strauss, the Bavarian Premier and head of the CSU, who persists in making caustic remarks about the Chancellor's leadership qualities.

Although Kohl has not been able to boost his reputation outside his party, he has demonstrated astonishing staying power.

Although election defeats may be more and more shattering each time Kohl remains unperturbed.

In spring next year the CDU will probably lose its last major bastion, its absolute majority in Baden-Württemberg.

The dispute over tax reform, the cutting of costs in the health system and the reform of the pensions scheme are bound to deter voters in Baden-Württemberg.

But the CDU can count on the FDP. Sometimes it even seems as if the CDU deliberately abandons ground to strengthen the FDP, to commit it even more to a coalition with the CDU and CSU, and thus eliminate rivals.

Over the last five years Chancellor Kohl has demonstrated that he is an unparalleled power-minded politician.

He has not only understood how to ensure the backing of the CDU, but has also pushed through everything he set out to do.

Whether missile deployment or labour law amendments, the decision on Pershings or Erich Honecker's visit: Helmut Kohl has not yet been forced to make any substantial changes to his political objectives.

Past experience, therefore, would suggest that the coalition will be able to push through the tax reform package.

The general impression, however, is of a disunited mob rather than an efficient government.

The way in which decisions are taken is responsible for the image created by Helmut Kohl and his party colleagues.

The early days of the Kohl "era" were marked by the attempt to obtain an amnesty on donations to political parties and the Wörner-Kiessling affair instead of the promised fundamental intellectual and moral change.

The allegations in Schleswig-Holstein have come at a time when people had started to forget these embarrassments and slip-ups.

Politics in Bonn, it would seem, has degenerated into tactical manoeuvrings. Parties no longer try to win the support of voters through convincing policies, serious discussion and plausible directives, but by classifying and categorising voters according to various "camps".

The period since the general election in January has been taken up with endlessly long, and in some cases meaningless, coalition negotiations and the dispute over the inevitable decision for a double zero solution and for the removal of the Pershing 1A missiles.

The tax reform package seems unlikely to turn into a political success for the coalition.

Too many people feel that the government gives with one hand and takes away with the other.

For many years the coalition's promise to take a serious look at the reduction of public debt was its indisputed political capital. Today, the coalition runs the risk of gambling this away.

The overall impression is of hopeless discord between the CSU and FDP, the CDU and CSU, and between Kohl and Strauss.

Helmut Kohl has never managed to assert his authority via professional expertise and thus overcome or defuse the conflicts which inevitably arise in every coalition.

On the contrary, the impression of spreading inertia and an attempt by all coalition politicians to promote their own image at the expense of others covers up almost everything else.

This explains why neither the Pershing decision nor the successful Deutschlandpolitik nor Honecker's visit to Bonn have paid off for Kohl.

The pressure for domestic and foreign policy continuity proved greater than could be expected following election promises.

By exaggerating the significance of the ban on wearing masks at demonstrations the FDP has also jammed on the brakes in the coalition.

The number of people disappointed by Bonn's policies during the Kohl era has grown. Many people dislike what political parties have to offer.

The number of unemployed persons is increasing, and for the first time in 20 years a right-wing extremist has got a seat in a state assembly (Bremen).

So far, thank God, no rabble-rouser has appeared to try and soak up the potential of the disappointed.

Adrian Zielcke

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 1 October 1987)

■ POLITICS

Which way do we go now? The SPD collects ideas for a new manifesto

The Social Democrats are in the process of drawing up a major policy reappraisal. They are sounding out a wide body of opinion and will present the results to an extraordinary party conference next year.

Members of the public, irrespective of party-political affiliation, have been invited to take part in the debate.

About 150 people from all walks of public life will scrutinise the draft which, once it is finalised, will replace the party's 1959 Godesberg manifesto (when it was decided to abandon the aim of state ownership of industry).

The party leader, Hans-Jochen Vogel, explains the breadth of involvement in the task by saying that "it would be arrogant and foolish not to use the creative potential of the country."

He says a reforming party such as the SPD must be measured much more than conservative parties by its manifesto.

Taking a swipe

As a former mayor of Munich, the Bavarian capital, the SPD leader is unable to resist the temptation to take a verbal swipe at the CSU, which has reigned supreme in Bavaria for 30 years.

He said: "Whether the CSU even has a manifesto is a question most CSU members will be unable to answer offhand."

The fundamental platform debate was managed by Erhard Eppler, deputy chairman of the SPD's manifesto commission, and Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker, the scientist and philosopher.

Herr von Weizsäcker, invited to comment as a non-party critic, was initially in full agreement with the tenet Herr Eppler extrapolated from the draft:

"The mere projection of existing conditions is no longer enough to reveal the shape of things to come. Only by change will we be able to take into the future what we feel to be worth maintaining and preserving."

Herr Eppler said that was a task framed in diametrical opposition to the aims outlined in the Godesberg manifesto.

In 1959 the SPD had been able to envisage the future as a slightly modified projection of existing conditions.

Once the idea of carrying on as before had been realised to amount to a blindness to reality, the party must redefine its intentions no matter how staunchly it might stand by Godesberg fundamentals. A manifesto must be "sufficiently fearless to motivate people yet remain firmly rooted in reality."

Herr Eppler felt the most difficult task was probably that of "linking the pole of utopia with the pole of everyday political practice."

Herr von Weizsäcker felt this was all true, "word for word." If it were realised in detail a new manifesto on this basis could count on his "emphatic approval."

He summarised the difficulties the SPD is experiencing in gaining sufficient electoral support despite embracing principles acknowledged to be right, putting them in a nutshell that was as emphatically approved by some members of the audience as it was rejected by others.

"The Social Democratic principle has



prevailed," he said. "That is the problem of today's SPD. The crisis faced by the party is a consequence of its historic victory."

Herr von Weizsäcker illustrated this assertion with a flashback to the history of liberalism.

When liberal principles began to prevail, conservatives took up and endorsed liberal demands.

In taking up the liberal legacy they had accelerated the demise of the liberal movement.

The Social Democrats had undergone a similar course of events, he said, once they realised that welfare state objectives could only be achieved in a parliamentary democracy.

In conjunction with the capitalist business community conservative parties had also endorsed this principle.

The victory of the welfare-state principle in the industrialised world, Weizsäcker said, had swept Social Democrats in these countries into the throes of a crisis by making it more difficult for them to find voters.

Classic problems had been solved, but not pressing issues of economics, ecology and foreign affairs in the shadow of the nuclear threat or, for that matter, of culture in the comprehensive sense of behaviour, figures of speech and patterns of thought.

In Third World countries, in contrast, primitive capitalist conditions as described by Friedrich Engels in the mid-19th century mainly continued because they lacked the democratic framework which alone made possible a solution of social issues.

Herr von Weizsäcker sees aspects of unemployment in this context too. Many proposals to eliminate unemployment foundered, he said, on the argument that if they were implemented they would make German products less competitive in the world market.

In the world market welfare states behaved as though they were nothing but competitors — and rivals who tended to "batten down the hatches." Worldwide instability could ensue, with corresponding repercussions for the rich countries.

Courage

Herr von Weizsäcker would like to see more courage, a more dramatic portrayal of these circumstances and a contribution toward world awareness of the welfare-state principle.

He feels domestic unemployment is due in part to conditions in many Third World countries.

In its efforts to replace nuclear power by alternative energy sources Herr von Weizsäcker, a distinguished nuclear physicist, called on the SPD to start by calling for a drastic increase in energy prices — even though motorists might not like the idea.

Johano Strasser, a member of the SPD's manifesto commission, and Sigrid Skarpelis-Sperk, a Bavarian SPD member of the Bundestag, were the most emphatic opponents of his theory of the victory of the Social Democratic principle.

They argued that issues of social justice and distribution of power had not, by any means, yet been solved. Trade unionists complained of a lack of solidarity.

Herr von Weizsäcker said he was prepared to agree that shortcomings existed in these sectors.

But the small print of a manifesto that is expected to combine "fearlessness" and "utopian courage" with practicable proposals seems sure to provide subject matter for discussion far beyond the bounds of this initial Munich platform debate.

Professor Richard Löwenthal, a fellow-member of the SPD's manifesto commission, sees Herr Eppler's call for unsparing analysis as "a risk of depicting the dangers of our age too totally and so fuelling the fires of hopelessness."

The threat must not appear to be greater than the solutions a manifesto has to offer.

Herr Eppler argues that preconceived optimism borders on the outlook held by CDU leader Helmut Kohl, who "feels the world is in order simply because he has become Chancellor."

Rolf Linkenheil

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 19 September 1987)

Former Bonn envoy in Moscow sceptical about glasnost

Glasnost, the Soviet policy of openness, is merely a demagogic way of trying to shake out the lethargy from the mass of the Soviet people, says a former Bonn ambassador to Moscow.

Jörg Kastl told a meeting of the Kurt Schumacher Foundation that truth in the Soviet Union was still a rationed commodity.

The Soviet Union faced bigger handicaps to reform than China, he said. China was ethically more uniform, it had no satellite countries and had been under Communist rule for only half the time Russia had.

The Soviet Union wanted closer ties with the European Community, but its policy was unchanged in Afghanistan,



Africa and Central America and it did not want substantial improvements in relations with Bonn.

Herr Kastl, who returned from Moscow earlier this year, dealt widely with "restructuring," or perestroika, in the Soviet Union.

He felt nothing more had yet been accomplished than a start to technical, as opposed to structural, reforms — and the going was slow.

In addition to resistance within the Soviet Union, especially by incompetent managerial cadres whom Mr Gorbachov feels "lack the desire to learn how to work," Herr Kastl referred to handicaps that are less frequently mentioned.

The Soviet Union, he said, was much more strongly handicapped than Communist China in tackling reforms.

It was a colonial empire with unsolved national minority problems, whereas China was ethnically much more uniform.

Unlike China, it had to bear its satellites in mind, and it had spent "twice as long as China in the communist straitjacket."

Last but not least, there was powerful tension in the Soviet Union between a domestic cultural inferiority complex and an external sense of mission. "The Chinese believe less and are stronger on action," he said.

He was even more sceptical about the policy of glasnost, or purported openness. It was nothing more than a demagogic means of achieving the strategic target of shaking up the lethargic masses in the Soviet Union.

Truth continued to be strictly rationed. Herr Kastl warned about "new thinking" in Soviet foreign policy.

It might, he said, be the new style of Soviet diplomacy, but the classic dual strategy by which class struggle and the struggle for peace were seen as links in a chain had not been abandoned.

Soviet foreign policy was conducted in a much suaver manner. Soviet diplomats no longer said "nyet."

Soviet foreign policy was ready for closer ties with the European Community, it canvassed for an Asian security conference and it was "knocking at the gateway to Gatt."

But Soviet policy was unchanged in Afghanistan, Africa and Central America, and Moscow had no intention of really substantial improvements in relations with Bonn.

Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker had been hosted in Moscow "correctly, but not in a winsome manner."

Herr Kastl felt Mr Gromyko had lost all influence on Soviet foreign policy, but as an old bureaucrat he felt in his element as chairman of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet, or head of state.

He had more respect Mr Gromyko's successor as Foreign Minister, Mr Shevardnadze.

Mr Shevardnadze had pored over the files obsessively so that he had been surprisingly quick to emerge as a fully-fledged Foreign Minister.

Herr Kastl was guarded in his answer to the query whether the Soviet Union could be lent any outside assistance in its process of restructuring. The opportunities were strictly limited.

He said Mr Gorbachov must not only be taken at his word, as Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher recommended; he must also be measured by the yardstick of his actions.

It was too early yet to do so. He for one wished the Soviet leader all the best in his bid to make the Soviet Union a more humane and more reliable partner.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 25 September 1987)



■ PERSPECTIVE

Think-tank's 25 years of 'opening intellectual doors'

It is 25 years since a think-tank called *Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik* (Science and Politics Foundation) was established. Its task is to provide information and ideas for others to develop and act on. Between 5 and 10 per cent of its commissions come from the Chancellor's Office, the Foreign Office and the Ministry of Defence. It is consulted by government agencies, political parties, research institutes and the media. It has 110 research posts and between 20 and 30 posts for guest researchers. The institute is a contact for international experts on security and political matters. It has produced more than 1,000 reports on topics such as security issues, East-West questions and international economic problems. Klaus Ritter, 68, is more than just its head: it was his idea and has become his life's work, which he describes as "pushing open intellectual doors." This article about the foundation and the man behind it is by Theo Sommer, editor of *Die Zeit*.

Few would guess that the head of the Science and Politics Foundation in Ebenhausen, Klaus Ritter, is almost 69.

He is still as erect and lean as the young infantry captain who returned from the war in 1945.

He has retained the keen pensiveness of the law student in Marburg who wrote his doctoral thesis on natural law and legal positivism.

And he is still spurred on by the same intellectual nervousness of the Harvard scholarship holder who, tutored by Henry Kissinger, pursued his inclination to translate fundamental and intellectual ideas into workable forms.

Although he is an unfamiliar figure to the West German public his country owes him a great deal.

The Science and Politics Foundation in Ebenhausen — his idea, his institution and his lifework — was set up 25 years ago.

The commemoration of this anniversary is one of the rare occasions on which Ritter has moved out of the wings and into the limelight of public interest.

Ritter and his institute are almost better known internationally than in Germany itself.

It has worked together with the Rand Corporation in Santa Monica, the London Institute of Strategic Studies and the Moscow Institute for International Economics and Politics.

Quietly but insistently Ritter voices the interests and positions of Germany at international panel discussions, in study groups and seminars. He is a contact for many international foreign and security policy experts.

In the world of the think tanks which provide political decision-makers with the information they need, Ritter has established a research institute of high renown. His advice and his fellow researchers are held in high esteem in Bonn.

The strange thing is that, although the institute has often adopted controversial stances during the past 25 years, it has never been accused of party-political bias.

"We're not indifferent when it comes to subject matter," Ritter explains. "But we are party-politically neutral. I'm not interested in left-wing or right-wing, the main thing is that the subject matter is of a high standard."

A further surprising phenomenon is that the institute has never been the victim of a press mud-slinging campaign.

As Ritter points out: "In 25 years we've never been in *Der Spiegel*".

The first politicians to become members of the foundation's council were Kurt Birrenbach, Thomas Dehler and Herbert Wehner (they were later joined by Helmut Schmidt).

The foundation committee also included Werner Heisenberg, Georg Picht, Carl-Friedrich von Weizsäcker, Hellmut Becker and Theodor Schieder.

They helped ensure that the foundation steered clear of party-political constraints. The foundation's research institute still assumes sole responsibility for its research activities.

Only five to ten per cent of its activities are commissioned by the Federal Chancellery, the Bonn Foreign Office and the Bonn Defence Ministry.

The rest is independent albeit politics-related research, even though nine-tenths of the institute's funds (total budget in 1987: roughly DM11m plus between DM1m and DM1.5m "outside funds") is provided by the budget of the Federal Chancellery.

Right from its inception the institute has pursued an overriding goal.

The administration, Ritter argued, thinks forensically: the parties in parliament compete with one another for public consensus and often become bogged down in their own simplifying slogans; the media try to promote greater public awareness of existing problems and exert an influence on power structures; and the scientific community would like to be viewed as a God of truth.

What is missing is an element which does not fight for certain views, but which tries to make it clear what is at stake and what is needed, that is, an element which provides perspectives.

Henry Kissinger and Professor Arnold Wolfers strongly urged Ritter in America in 1960 to create such an element "in order to overcome the Humboldtian detachment from power and bridge the gap between science and politics."

Many experts in the Federal Republic of Germany had similar ideas, for example, Wilhelm Cornides at the *Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik*, the political sciences doyen in Freiburg, Arnold Bergsträsser, and politicians from various parties.

The Cold War was coming to an end; Kennedy and Khrushchev drew up the first arms control agreements; the first detente stimuli emanated from Gerhard Schröder's "politics of movement" and the Nato's Harmel Report.

Ritter's Science and Politics Foundation was set up during this period — initially as a private-law foundation in 1962 and then as a research institution in 1965.

Klaus Ritter was the institute's director right from the start.

Before he became an active-service officer Ritter had set up the department in the Wehrmacht's Supreme Command responsible for analysing the strength and state of the Soviet armed forces.

After obtaining his doctorate he became a member of Gehlen's intelligence service and head of the service's department for political evaluation.

After leaving the intelligence service and setting up the Ebenhausen foundation he disliked referring to his previous activities for fear that some might regard the institute as a mere extension of the Federal Intelligence Service.

To begin with, a former villa belonging to a textiles industrialist on a secluded park estate housed the foundation's facilities.

A library annexe was added, followed by a research wing and then a conference building with a canteen.

Klaus Ritter must have often felt like Laocoon in his struggle with the serpent of bureaucracy in Bonn and Munich.

Two Gobelins from the House of Savoyen decorate the stairwell, one depicting two knights in armour and the other Ariadne and Theseus, an allegory to the relationship between science and politics.

Ritter elucidates the deeper meaning: "The task of science is to help politics find its way out of the labyrinth in which it repeatedly gets lost."

The amount of research material in the institute increased as the institute expanded.

Gone are the days of the Humboldt card index system. Over 135,000 literature references and 10,000 factual references are now computer-filed.

There are now 110 research posts at the institute. In addition, there are regularly between 20 and 30 guests: post-graduate trainees, scholarship holders and research professors.

Ritter managed to obtain the highest security authorisations for many colleagues, in some cases the highest clearance level "Atomal".

He insisted that "we can only advise the government properly if we are on an equal footing. This means: an identical level of information."

Not all institute activities are so secretive. The institute issues two book series.

Its assessments are consulted by government agencies, parliamentary parties, research institutes and editorial departments.

During the past 25 years the institute's 12 workgroups have compiled more than 1,000 studies.

At least a quarter of these concentrated on security policy topics, the rest of general East-West questions, international economic problems and developments outside of Europe.

The experts from the Ebenhausen institute are much sought-after speakers for scientific congresses.

They are impartial in both ideological and party-political terms, pluralism being the operative word.

Ritter was brought up in what used to be called the "German educated classes".

His father was a theologian, one uncle a specialist in Middle Eastern and oriental studies and another the historian Gerhard Ritter.

Philipp Melanchton is one of this protestant family's most prominent ancestors. Although his parents opposed the Nazis he was in uniform for eight years.

Even before Stalingrad a Baltic officer warned him that the war was already lost. Ritter knew many members of the German resistance, including Stauffenberg, Merz, Stieff and von dem Bussche.

In 1944 his regimental comrade Richard von Weizsäcker told him that there was "something in the air".

On the day of the assassination attempt on Hitler (20 July) Ritter was engaged in defensive military action on the Baltic Sworbe peninsula.

Although he knew that everything was at stake in Berlin he also realised that he had to keep on fighting to get his troops out of the Russian encirclement.

Continued on page 12

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■ THE WORKFORCE

High tech no solution to unemployment from closed mines and steelworks

Once there were 53,000 men employed in 22 mines in Essen. Now there are no mines. When the last colliery closed, a final 1,100 miners were made redundant.

High hopes were placed on the capacity of high tech to provide alternative employment, and 250 jobs have been created at great expense in a highly subsidised Essen technology centre.

But none of the new jobs are likely to be suitable for ex-miners. It is much the same for unemployed steelworkers, mostly semi-skilled — certainly not in Essen or within commuting distance.

That is the position in the Ruhr, and it is much the same in the Saar, in northern Bavaria, in Lorraine, Luxembourg, the Liege basin in Belgium, in Italy and in French steel towns.

All are areas where billions in taxpayers' money has been ploughed into companies that would otherwise be stony broke — and their staff out of work.

The situation in the steel industry is no better than it is down the mines. Coal and steel are long in the tooth and no longer sufficiently innovative to create a demand for surplus output.

There once was a time when chemicals refined from coal seemed sure to be a growth industry. It was swamped by inexpensive oil 30 years ago.

New grade of steel are constantly being developed, but they do not compensate for the decline in turnover of boiler plate and sectional steel. That is why there can be no real hope of setting up new production facilities on the site of disused steelworks.

What could possibly be manufactured there that is not already manufactured at less expense elsewhere?

Coal and steel workers are not renowed for mobility. Many of them took up tempting offers to buy their homes in the Ruhr. They are now unsaleable, and mortgage payments have to be met.

Others, especially miners, have for generations enjoyed the privilege of peppercorn rents based on generous housing subsidies. Then there are those who argue that work ought to be provided where people live. This odd idea stands in strange contrast to the facts of life since Adam and Eve. People have always felt moving to where the jobs were was a matter of course.

A trio of experts has been commissioned by the European Community to work out how nearly 30 million tonnes of steel production capacity can best be shut down — with the loss of 80,000 jobs,

Süddeutsche Zeitung

including nearly 35,000 in Germany. The programme of closures can only hope to work if Brussels specifies for years to come just how much steel each works may produce.

Production quotas are to be freely negotiated, and without irksome government intervention. That may make it easier to finance closures and redundancy payment schemes, but the free trade in quotas cannot guarantee there will be no surplus to requirements.

Thyssen, for instance, has two boiler plate works. For years demand has, to say the least, been slack for heavy, or boiler plate. Both works are deep in debt.

One works, in Hattingen, is to be shut down, axing 2,800 jobs. The other, in Duisburg, will benefit, as will its 2,500 payroll.

One production capacity will undeniably be scrapped, but whether that will be enough to prevent surplus output and operating losses remains to be seen.

Whatever happens, Hattingen will be saddled with serious social problems — as will many other steel towns in the Ruhr and elsewhere.

Generous financial provisions are made for coal and steel redundancies in the Federal Republic and other countries, but money alone does not solve the problems faced by a 50-year-old miner or steelworker who is suddenly thrown out of work.

Much more consideration must be given to how to meaningfully employ them and other, younger people out of work. Luxembourg has launched a programme that has similarities with the prewar public works schemes.

It is reminiscent of public works, that is all. It is voluntary, an option, and not compulsory.

Legislation would probably need amending to introduce similar schemes in Germany, but that ought surely to be the least of problems.

Such programmes cost money, but in boardrooms and executive offices discussion has been under way for months on who can and ought to contribute how much toward schemes of this kind.

The trio of experts can but be wished good luck. Their German predecessors, appointed in 1983, created a stir with their concentration and rationalisation proposals, but little came of them.

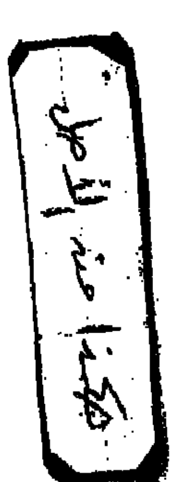
Virtually insuperable financial problems were one handicap, with some steel companies deep in debt. Corporate egoism was another.

If the German steel "moderators" had been more successful a few years ago a number of problems, at least in Germany could have now been solved more readily and in a more humane manner.

Ernst Herem

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 24 September 1987)

Minister warns of danger of coal production cuts




Bonn Labour Minister and North Rhine-Westphalian CDU leader Norbert Blüm has sent the *Land* Premiers an unusual open letter warning them against any further cutbacks in German coal output.

In the Ruhr alone cuts already necessitated by declining sales will inevitably mean more short time and thousands of miners out of work.

This adjustment, Herr Blüm wrote, was proving difficult as it was. Any further cuts would run the risk of "disturbing the social peace." He called on the *Länder* to demonstrate solidarity.

The German mining industry badly needs it. Since oil prices plummeted mining coal has ceased to be profitable, which is, frankly, hardly surprising.

Mining coal several hundred metres underground at a high cost in terms of manpower and materials cannot possibly be as inexpensive as oil gushing from a well or brown coal mined opencast by bucketwheel dredgers.

The figures tell a plain tale. Imported coal currently costs DM85 to DM100 per tonne, as against the price nearly three times higher that is paid for German power station coal.

Coal-fired power stations can only afford to buy German coal because German electricity consumers pay a special surcharge to cover the cost.

The proceeds of this surcharge are used to subsidise the cost of German coal, bringing it down to a level at which it can compete with oil or imported coal.

Lower oil prices have widened the gap and made even higher subsidies necessary. *Länder* such as Bavaria or Lower Saxony, which have no coalfields of their own, are no longer prepared to play ball.

Neither is Bonn Economic Affairs Minister Martin Bangemann. He envisages setting a ceiling to this subsidy arrangement.

If one were imposed, power utilities feel their long-term commitments would be in jeopardy.

They are committed to buying fixed quantities of German coal until 1995, but if their subsidies are reduced they see no alternative to reducing the amount of German coal they buy.

That would not only breach the present contract and bring a number of pits to the brink of ruin. It would also jeopardise any prospect of further arrangements beyond 1995.

The utilities see no possibility of increasing the prices they charge consumers. They face a threat of cut-price electric power imports from France, and German industry is already charged higher rates than competitors elsewhere.

IG Bergbau, the miners' union, feels it has found a solution to the dilemma. Its proposal is a transitional arrangement to curb nuclear power and step up coal-fired power output.

The union is opposed to a swift shutdown of nuclear power stations because it sees a combination of low-cost atomic energy and high-cost coal-fired power as the only way to avert disaster for the mining industry.

Power utilities are opposed to the idea because it would increase costs. The Christian Democrats, at least in North Rhine-Westphalia, feel it is a fine idea.

It is sure to have been raised at a 5 October meeting in Bonn to discuss the coal situation.

Supporters of atomic energy seem sure to have to agree to a compromise of some kind now the latest Prognos forecast on the consequences of a nuclear power phaseout has taken some of the wind out of their sails.

Understandably attractive though the idea of low-cost electric power may be, one is bound to wonder whether short-term safeguards for miners' jobs in the Ruhr are not preferable — and fairer than financing even higher unemployment.

Oil is sure not to stay as inexpensive as it is for ever. Besides, is there not a case to be made out for the argument that the competitive aspect of energy alternatives is overrated?

If cost was the only consideration, France with its low-cost atomic energy would be the world champion power exporter.

It isn't. Brainpower is definitely more important than inexpensive electric power. It is badly needed to help solve Germany's coal problems.

Josef Rothe

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 30 September 1987)

Union demands phase out of nuclear power

Atomic energy should only be used for a transitional period as a means of generating power, says the national executive of ÖTV, the public service and transport workers' union.

Non-nuclear methods of electricity generation should be introduced "as soon as possible." It did not say how long the transitional period should be.

The ÖTV is the second-largest union in the DGB, Germany's trades union confederation. Its general secretary, Monika Wulf-Mathies, said at the end of July that she felt the 10-year period agreed by the SPD at its 1986 Nuremberg party conference was unrealistic.

The union calls strongly policy changes to accelerate nuclear-free energy. In coordination with the DGB and its member-unions a "political offensive" is to be launched to ensure that political and entrepreneurial decisions are taken without delay on the union's demands.

Several thousand ÖTV members work in the atomic energy and power utility industries, so the union's executive was called on to pursue active wage, works and job training policies to ensure that structural change does not bring unnecessary hardship on them.

Priority must be given to continued employment by their existing employer or in other sectors of the energy industry.

Energy supplies without nuclear power by the turn of the century would be both feasible and create new jobs, according to a report commissioned by the *Land* government of North Rhine-Westphalia.

The changeover could be made without loss of either economic, ecological or technological substance but, as *Land* Economic Affairs Minister Reimut Jochimsen noted, there is no wide-ranging social consensus on the issue.

So he felt a transitional arrangement might, subject to certain conditions, be tolerable.

He made it clear there could be no question of a *Land* going it alone in phasing out nuclear power. The idea had been mooted but was ruled out on legal and political grounds.

It would, in any case, not be in North Rhine-Westphalia's interest as an energy centre.

dpa/rtr

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 26 September 1987)

■ FINANCE

What everyone's whipping boy, the IMF, can do — and what it can't

Staff at the International Monetary Fund (IMF) are monetary and credit experts. Some are probably bureaucrats. Their main role is helping others and fixing others' mistakes.

IMF officials are not in a position to submit ready solutions of the world's economic woes to the joint annual meeting of the IMF and the World Bank.

The 151-member IMF may be criticised, especially by developing countries, for its tough credit terms, but critics must remember what the IMF is supposed to do, what its role is and what role it on no account ought to play.

Look at what happened in 1929, when countries, including the industrialised world, infected each other with the toxic bacillus of tariff barriers as their foreign exchange reserves were steadily depleted.

In those days there was no international body with an auxiliary role such as the IMF's, so to avoid any repetition of the bitter consequences and to lead the world out of the Depression men such as Keynes hit on the idea of setting up the two Bretton Woods organisations, the IMF and the World Bank.

But that was later, in 1944, shortly before the end of the war. A country that ran into balance-of-payments difficulties was never again to be forced to close its borders entirely to imports.

So the IMF is not a development aid institution. It stages temporary relief

Clouds over world's economy

Debts — Third World foreign debt ($bn): 1980 650; 1983 890; 1987 1080

Balance of trade — in $bn: Japan +106; West Germany +62; USA -158

Unemployment — in indust. Western nations (millions): 1973 11; 1980 21; 1987 31

© Globus — 1987 figures are estimates

operations but aims mainly at eliminating the causes of balance-of-payments difficulties and thereby at ensuring that loans are repaid.

That brings us to the IMF's terms, which have come in for such trenchant criticism. They are anything but rigid and inflexible. They are subject to change, and so they ought to be.

The Fund has been known to respond to structural changes in the international economy.

Credit facilities have, for instance, been provided to bankroll buffer stocks of tin, cocoa, rubber and sugar. Financial assistance is also lent in cases where export earnings are structurally hit, and these are just two instances.

Yet in both cases terms are indispensable, and they are unpopular, which is why governments are fond of casting the IMF as the scapegoat, at least for domestic consumption, especially as it is located in Washington, D.C., the capital city of capitalism.

This implicit criticism is justified inasmuch as the capitalist countries do indeed control the IMF. Voting rights correspond to the paid-up quotas held by member-countries, plus periodic increases in IMF capital.

The industrialised countries are the main quota-holders. Because of the serious financial problems of so many, especially developing, countries the IMF is understandably keen to increase its quotas yet again.

They were last increased at the end of March from 61 billion SDRs to 90 billion, the SDR, or special drawing right, being equivalent to $1.29 or DM2.34.

It was doubtful at the time of writing whether an increase would be agreed in Washington this time round. The US budget deficit does not encourage the United States to replenish IMF or World Bank funds.

America used to be much more generous, but nowadays it tends to leave the IMF and the World Bank high and dry.

In theory quotas are subject to review at least every five years to bring them into line with international economic growth, the pace of which has, incidentally, declined.

Growth in the Federal Republic of Germany was a mere 0.8 per cent in the second quarter of 1987, but Germany trailed other, comparable countries where growth rates ranged from 2.4 to four per cent.

Washington can promptly remind Bonn that it ought to be doing more to boost growth, but even though growth may not be explosive, many newly-independent states would dearly like, for obvious reasons, to draw on the Fund.

In the 1950s little call was made on IMF resources, which were then for a while so readily accessible that they were overused to defend fixed but unrealistic exchange rates, transforming the IMF into an international inflation machine.

This role was particularly encouraged by the introduction of special drawing rights, an artificial international currency launched in 1970.

Money was first printed on a grand scale but the machine has now been largely switched off, arguably too abruptly and certainly at an inconvenient juncture.

Additional SDRs on a scale the IMF might like will definitely not be created in Washington.

The SDR has emerged as the main IMF unit of account, its value based on a basket of five currencies, the dollar, the deutschemark, sterling, the French franc and the yen.

The IMF is not a supra-governmental authority in respect of money and credit. It is not an institution on to which Western commercial banks can fob off the risk of Third World sovereign debts either.

The banks would dearly like to hive off this risk, but it must remain their own.

Unwillingly and contrary to the intentions of its founding fathers, the IMF has, however, assumed the role of moderator in coping with the debt crisis, which private trading in bills and paper can no longer handle.

The IMF's intermediary role may partly relieve the burden, but hard-hit debtor countries are unlikely to grow more solvent as a result.

Import quotas may then have to be imposed after all, arguably a rerun of 1929. All efforts would then have been in vain.

Franz Thoma

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 26 September 1987)

What is happening in Germany? How does Germany view the world?

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DIE WELT

Kohl: Die Deutschen haben die Kraft zur Erneuerung

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Background

The IMF lends funds of its own and its behaviour influences the readiness of commercial banks and public-sector creditors to maintain or extend existing credit commitments.

As debtor countries often have to fulfil strict conditions before the IMF will bale them out the fund is often criticised as an international economic policy policeman.

In the past five years it has been successful in negotiating debt rescheduling terms to avert the catastrophe of a major debtor, such as Brazil or Mexico, defaulting.

The IMF was set up in 1944 at the Bretton Woods conference with the initial aim of establishing a widely-based international monetary system once the Second World War was over.

By the terms of the IMF agreement members initially undertook to maintain fixed exchange rates, a provision that had to be abandoned in spring 1973.

In 1978 the reality of flexible exchange rates was legalised by an IMF that today has 151 members, including all leading Western industrialised countries except Switzerland.

The joint annual meeting of the IMF and the World Bank has just been held in Washington, D.C.

Next year's meeting, a gathering of economic and financial policymakers and international financiers, will be held in Berlin (West).

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 24 September 1987)

■ TRADE

Genscher warns about the perils of protectionism

Handelsblatt
WIRTSCHAFTS- UND FINANZZEITUNG

Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher believes that trade has become a new dimension of foreign policy. Trade departments in the diplomatic service are being strengthened.

Genscher rarely misses a chance to encourage businessmen to take notice of detente policy as far as possible.

He told a meeting of economists in the Swiss alpine centre of Davos earlier this year that the industrial nations of the West now had the opportunity to work in cooperation with the economy of a changing Soviet Union.

On his return from the general assembly of the United Nations in New York, he said the positive trends in relations between East and West were not limited to disarmament.

Genscher values highly the capabilities of trade as a trail-blazer of political rapprochement. But he also knows that if governments step and use trade as a tool to achieve a particular end, the result can rebound.

He warned about the political-trade conflict between the United States and Europe and said that this would handicap the progress of momentum of East-West relations. And that would be foolishness of a high order.

The common factors between America and Europe could also be damaged by protect ionist tendencies in America and by the Americans' high budget deficit and the weakness of the dollar.

Genscher made his views about the protectionist threat known to Vice-President George Bush, who is touring Europe.

This month Genscher is going to America, where he is to address a meeting in St Paul, Minnesota.

The state lies in the heartland of America. Many farming lobbies are calling for more protectionism. And Genscher will be warning against the consequences of such action.

He will also take the opportunity to reassure Americans about the West German attitude to the USA-USSR arms-negotiations. West German foreign policy is behind the American West-East initiative and Genscher will no doubt refer to agreements which have been made between Bonn and Nato as evidence of Bonn's approval.

Even such supposed or intentional misunderstandings could endanger the international convergence of the alliance. As a result he probably will consciously keep an open mind to see if he cannot after all recognize reasons for American unease, and if they might not be attributable to the West German government.

Genscher will communicate the urgent need to dove-tail Western foreign policy with the EEC.

If as planned the European domestic market should be realised by 1992, then Genscher realises the necessity for further rapprochement in the fields of economics, finance and currency policy. Footholds which have been made by finance ministers in Copenhagen have to be carried over to other fields.

Genscher leaves one in no doubt that he would like to see more cooperation in the area of technology, whether within the framework of *Eureka* or EEC research programmes, and in the area of security, which should be given momentum via the West European Union. All individual areas should be united under a common European foreign policy, which should then fit into a coherant interdependent overall Western foreign policy, in order to reach the desired level of dynamism and to fruitfully influence West-East relationships.



Tea for two. Herr Genscher (left) and US vice-president George Bush start talks with a working breakfast in Bonn. (Photo: dpa)

The Foreign Minister recognises a special responsibilty of the German *Politik*, which in his opinion grew in reputation in East and West, after the Pershing 1-A decision, in bringing about an integrated European foreign policy.

On 1 January 1988, West Germany will take over the presidency of the EEC. This phase should be used intensively to work towards the idea of integration. In fact right now there is a lot of soft-soaping taking place in bilateral contacts between EEC premiers.

Genscher is also of the opinion that a European economics conference can take place. West Germany and Czechoslovakia are making a great effort to bring it about.

The conference has attracted its share of controversy though, and there are doubts as to how successful it will be. Genscher the energetic politician hopes not just to dispel any doubts but also to win West Germany the staging of it.

Hans Jörg Sottorf
(Handelsblatt, Dusseldorf, 30 September 1987)

Growing appeal of non-tariff barriers

Since the world recession in 1980, more and more countries have found economic sanctuary by resorting to non-tariff restrictions such as import quotas or voluntary reduction agreements.

Much intervention is directed against imports from developing countries or new industrial states — above all against imports of steel, textiles, agricultural and electrical products.

The fact that the economic costs of this "new protectionism" outweighs any benefits, has been known for a long time. But it still remains irresistible to some.

The full extent of the danger which could arise from this serious development is still being underestimated. This has been confirmed recently in various studies by the World Bank.

They concluded that no developing country can, in view of today's world economic interdependence, withdraw from the basic conditions which have been established by the big seven leading industrial nations.

Through their economic, and in particular their foreign policy, this leading-group carries the crucial responsibility for world-wide economic growth.

Last year growth of developing countries fell from 5.1 to 2.5 per cent. This was probably due to the fall in growth of industrial nations from 4.6 to 2.5 per cent.

Although in the next ten years an average growth of around six per cent would be possible for industrial countries, it is unlikely to happen. In view of the continuing world economic imbalance and protectionist tendencies the growth rate is more likely to be about 2.5 for the industrial nations and 4 per cent for the developing ones.

On this basis, the great world economic problems - the international debt crisis and increasing unemployment - are unlikely to be solved.

But regardless of world economic *working conditions*, every *government* is responsible for it's own economic policy.

In this domestic area, apart from political stability, an efficient infra-structure and a legal and social order friendly to investors, it's most important to have free trade with other countries.

Free trade should consist of realistic and stable exchange rates, reasonable and regular customs tariffs and a rejection of non-tariff trade barriers.

For the past 25 years, the world bank has been observing the growing pains of 41 developing nations. It found that the countries with the best economic indicators were those who had been more involved in foreign trade as opposed to internal trade, and didn't rely on a one sided promotion of import substitutes.

The performance indicators were based annual growth figures, the stability of money, the formation of economic savings and the annual increase of production and employment.

Admittedly it takes great political resolve to change over from protectionism to a policy of liberal foreign trade. Hesitant measures introduced at a late phase of an economic crisis are doomed to failure.

At the recently adopted multilateral trade negotiations at the GATT conference in Geneva, the Uruguay Round and the Unctad the general agreement was that protectionism was bad.

Countries that reached for import restrictions against their world trading partners and potential customers will do most damage to themselves.

This applies not only to developing countries but also to the richer ones. These countries are now giving *serious* thought to protectionism's financial consequences.

Dr Hans G. Petersmann is spokesman for the European bureau of the World Bank in Paris.

The price for the after effects would have to be paid by the tax payer and the consumer, and also the majority manufacturers entitled to protection or subsidies.

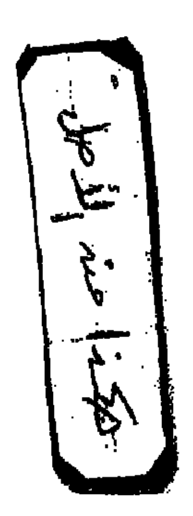
Maintainance subsidies and protection measures cannot in the final analysis stop structural changes from changing place. They actually hinder the flexible entrepreneur from competing for markets with new products. Investments made today for the future - as is well known - secure the jobs of tomorrow.

Protectionist measures are therefore not only an unsuitable way of creating jobs, but must also be understood as a main cause of structural unemployment.

In a country like West Germany, which owes its standard of living to its integration into free world trade, domestic economic and social partners should more strongly than ever perceive their common self-interest, in order to confront protectionism and to avoid further economic damage.

Hans G. Petersmann
(Wirtschaftswoche, Düsseldorf, 18 September 1987)

The world trade triangle
Exports 1986 in $bn
West. indust. nations
1126
Between each other
To the West
281
266
To develop. nations
59
To East Bloc
To the West
55
122
Trade with each other
36
To develop. nations
116
To East Bloc
33
Trade with each other
Developing nations
East Bloc, China
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■ ENERGY POLITICS

Lots of rhetorical fallout over what to do with radioactive rubbish

DIE ZEIT

The latest round of the nuclear-waste-disposal debate began in May when in probes of the Gorleben salt deposits a shaft collapsed, killing a miner.

Critics of the entire scheme were supplied with yet another reason for casting doubts on the suitability of the salt formations as a final repository for radioactive rubbish.

In mid-July opponents of atomic energy were given a further boost by reports that Klaus Barthelt, board chairman of nuclear power station manufacturers Kraftwerk Union, had wondered, on a visit to China, whether German nuclear waste might not best be dumped in the Gobi Desert.

Hardly had this idea been aired but KWU spokesman Laszlo Menzel had to backtrack.

China, he said, had noted that in payment for imports it could supply nuclear fuel, especially uranium, and recycle spent fuel rods.

The Chinese were not interested in disposing of radioactive waste.

On second reading this denial turns out to be nothing of the sort. If China is willing to accept spent fuel rods for reprocessing, then Germany will be rid of its nuclear waste, at least for the time being.

Spent fuel rods contain the very nuclear waste about which no-one yet knows for sure where and when it will find a safe and final resting place.

KWU's denial is irrelevant for another reason. Two years ago the China Nuclear Energy Industry signed a letter of intent with three German firms, Alfred Hempel KG, Nukem and Transnuklear.

No one knows

The Chinese agreed "to accept fuel elements from West European nuclear power stations for final disposal in the People's Republic of China."

Nukem's Jörg Pompetzki confirmed a few days after the KWU denial that "negotiations are still in progress even though they are proving extremely protracted."

The German nuclear industry keen to dispose of radioactive waste overseas because no-one yet knows how to dispose of nuclear waste from German power stations at home.

Martin Grüner, parliamentary state secretary at the Environment Ministry, confirmed this in a recent Bundestag debate.

"As far as we know," he told fellow-Free Democrat Burkhard Hirsch, "a working final repository for nuclear waste does not exist anywhere in the world; plans alone exist."

When Herr Hirsch then asked "whether it is not absolutely outrageous to imagine, in the circumstances, that this world premiere will take place down a salt mine of all places," Herr Grüner gave him short shrift.

"I don't feel a question of this kind is admissible," he replied, arguing that "we have made further headway in designing this final waste dump than any other countries, many of whom produce much larger quantities of high-grade radioactive waste."

This rejoinder cannot brush aside the fact that for 30 years nuclear power stations have been run in the Federal Republic of Germany and elsewhere without anyone knowing for sure where the waste was to be dumped.

The only basis for running nuclear power stations, including disposal of the waste they produce, continues to be no more than a plan.

Planning permission has continued to be given for building new nuclear power stations, but solely on the basis of a further fiction: the assumption by Federal and *Land* governments that radioactive waste disposal is assured.

On paper it is, or has been since waste disposal regulations were agreed by the Federal and *Land* governments in 1979.

The overriding principle of the 1979 regulations is that: "Safely assured nuclear power station waste disposal is an indispensable prerequisite for the further use and further, limited enlargement of nuclear power facilities."

The plan provides for spent fuel rods first to be stored for several years in special "cooling-off" basins at nuclear power stations until such time as they are cool enough to be transported.

They are then to be shipped to central intermediate storage facilities for a further period of up to 10 years. They will then be either recycled in a nuclear fuel processing plant or dumped.

Reprocessing is planned in Wackersdorf, Bavaria, and final storage in the Gorleben salt deposits on the border with East Germany, on the Elbe in Lower Saxony.

This plan itself in no way proves that waste disposal is safely assured. So the authorities have resorted to a makeshift arrangement.

Disposal is deemed to be assured if spent fuel rods can be processed abroad until such time as Wackersdorf is in operation.

Contractual arrangements with Britain and France thus ensure nuclear waste disposal into the 1990s, while disposal in Germany is deemed to be assured if progress is clearly made on implementing domestic plans.

In other words, work on intermediate storage facilities, on the processing plant and on the final storage facility must show clear signs of progress indicating they should all be operational by the late 1990s. Yet proven progress has been elusive — unlike setbacks. The only promising signs, despite delays, have been at Wackersdorf. Wackersdorf is under construction and ought, if work continues at the present rate, to be completed by 1996. Even then the country will be in a tight corner. The Bonn Environment Ministry expects German fuel elements to continue to need processing abroad regardless of Wackersdorf.

No-one can be sure whether France, which handles most of the processing at present, will still be able to do so in the mid-1990s.

It may well have no surplus capacity, given the rate at which France is pressing ahead with its own atomic energy programme.

Reprocessing alone is not enough to provide statutory proof of radioactive waste disposal. Progress must also be apparent in construction of intermediate and final storage facilities.

Yet at present anything is clearer than whether and when intermediate storage facilities will be available. A central intermediate facility in Gorleben has been built but permission to operate it has been challenged in court and there is no way of knowing which way the court will rule.

A second intermediate facility is planned in Ahaus, Westphalia, but construction work has been halted by a court order. Ahaus was originally to have been completed in 1985, Gorleben in 1986.

Completion deadlines has always been treated in a cavalier fashion. If it were taken seriously, German nuclear power stations would all have long had to be shut down because radioactive waste disposal was not assured.

The latest claim is that intermediate storage facilities are not needed until the mid-1990s. But Carsten Salander, a director of DWK, the nuclear fuel reprocessing agency, admits that: "Availability of external storage facilities would already be most useful."

The "cooling-off" basins in a number of older nuclear power stations are full to the brim.

As for final storage, that is even less assured than the intermediate variety, with two sites envisaged: Gorleben and a disused mine near Salzgitter.

Low-grade waste is to be stored down the Salzgitter iron ore mine. It makes up roughly 95 per cent of the total.

High-grade waste is to be dumped in the Gorleben salt deposits.

Two years ago Professor Helmut Röthemeyer, head of the Federal Physical-Technical Research Establishment in Brunswick, said the Salzgitter mine could definitely be taken into service by 1989. The latest deadline is 1991.

As for Gorleben, no-one is now prepared to commit himself. 1992 was the original deadline, but after drilling difficulties there was mention last year of 1993. After last May's pit accident a further delay of at least a year can be expected.

Yet by the mid-1990s at the latest the Federal Republic will have to dispose of radioactive waste from the reprocessing of spent German fuel rods in France.

Arnulf Matting of the Environment Ministry, where he is in charge of nuclear waste disposal, sees no cause for alarm.

Even if the worst came to the worst and Gorleben were to prove unsuitable as an underground dump, surface storage could easily tide over a further decade.

Yet even he admits that the problem must not be taken too easily, especially as no-one yet knows for sure what waste will be shipped back in which form from France.

The 1979 regulations make no provision for surface storage of radioactive waste as a final solution.

Manfred Popp, formerly of the Bonn Research Ministry and now state secretary at the Hesse Environment Ministry in Wiesbaden, says "relying solely on longer-term intermediate storage" is no solution — and would constitute a breach of the statutory provisions.

That makes Environment Minister Klaus Töpfer's insistence on Gorleben's suitability as a final repository all the more doubtful, especially as drilling and test runs have yet to be completed.

Besides, doubts as to the formation's suitability are gaining ground. Kiel geologist Klaus Duphorn published new findings only a few weeks ago including what was learnt from the pit accident last May.

Professor Duphorn, an undisputed expert, arrives at the conclusion that:

"In my expert opinion doubts as to the suitability of Gorleben have grown so strong that the most sensible decision would be to abandon the project immediately and check alternative locations."

Instead of salt formations he favours granite deposits in southern Germany.

Professor Töpfer will hear nothing of this idea, and for good reasons. Abandonment of Gorleben could have far-reaching consequences.

It would knock deadlines into a cocked hat, for a start. Facilities could definitely no longer be completed, as required, by the end of the century.

It would then be most doubtful whether permission to operate German nuclear power stations would stand up in court if challenged on the basis of the 1979 waste disposal regulations.

Wolfgang Hoffmann
(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 25 September 1987)



To reprocess or not to reprocess? Demonstrators at Wackersdorf site last year. (Photo: Wolfgang M. Weber)

■ EXHIBITIONS

The Heidelberg school comes to show its style in Heidelberg

Handelsblatt
WIRTSCHAFTS- UND FINANZZEITUNG

Who in Germany has ever heard of Charles Conder, Arthur Streeton, Sidney Long or Frederick McCubbin — or, for that matter, of the Heidelberg school of painting?

Heidelberg, Victoria, of course. Heidelberg, near Melbourne, Australia, and not the German university town and picturesque setting for The Student Prince.

The Heidelberg school was established about a century ago. Some of its leading members were Australian-born.

Their predecessors, the colonial painters, were trained in Europe — in Düsseldorf or in Switzerland, for instance.

They taught their students what they had learnt in Europe, but the learners embarked on new departures of their own.

They parted company with European academic tradition and set about coming directly and genuinely to terms with the light and landscapes of the fifth continent.

Exhibiting work by the Heidelberg school in Heidelberg, Germany, might seem an obvious idea. But it was easier said than done.

The paintings form part of Australia's national heritage and have never yet been allowed out of the country.

It took the combined powers of persuasion of Reinhold Zundel, the mayor of Heidelberg, Ludwig Fischer, head of the municipal arts department, and Hans Gercke, curator of the Heidelberg *Kunstverein*, to arrange for the loan.

They owe a special debt of gratitude to Patrick McCaughey, director of the Victoria National Gallery, for making the exhibition, on show in a wing of Heidelberg Castle, possible.

Cordial ties between the two Heidelbergs were the starting point, particularly an illustrated guide that prompted curiosity in Heidelberg, Germany, about the works of painters in Heidelberg, Australia.

Heidelberg, near Melbourne, on the Yarra River, was named after Heidelberg, Germany, by Continental Browne, the legendary British migrant Richard Henry Browne.

He saw similarities between the German and Australian countryside, and rightly so except that he had in mind the Harz in north Germany, not the Odenwald, near Heidelberg.

Painters from Melbourne joined forces for summer camps in idyllic Heidelberg, painting in the open, like the French Impressionists, and capturing on canvas the distinctive features of the Australian landscape.

In the mid-19th century Melbourne had been the centre of an Australian gold rush. The Heidelberg school flourished toward the end of the century. In the early years of the 20th century a decline set in. For years there were no newcomers. A distinctive Australian school of painting was not revived until after the Second World War, deliberately taking up the reins where the Heidelberg school had left off. The exhibition has cost Heidelberg, Germany, DM500,000. The paintings are insured for DM15m.

A walk round it constantly confronts the visitor with paintings that look strangely familiar even though he has never heard of the artist.

He will sense the extraordinary nature of an exhibition that is unique, the first of its kind in Europe.

Most exhibits were loaned by the National Gallery, Melbourne, with some from Sydney and Canberra.



Spring-time 1888, Richmond, Australia. Oil on canvas, Charles Conder, 1888. (Photo: Catalogue)

The show also features the Heidelberg school's predecessors and successors, starting with the colonial painters, such as Nicholas Chevalier or Eugen von Guérard, whose work is clearly inspired by the Romantic movement.

They include a pathetically burning bush fire by Guérard and work by

Continued on page 13

Impulsive gestures and galactic landscapes out of a spraycan

New York graffiti artists were mainly slum youngsters, often from black ghettos, armed with a spraycan to deface the subway with.

They borrowed from wherever they wanted, from pop art, comics and advertising motifs.

They sprayed their protests in often shrill, bright colours amid the grey, drab everyday life of the public.

Their handiwork was officially defacement of public property and they faced stiff penalties. But it soon became graffiti art.

But before it did, New York's municipal administration and the transport authorities took drastic action.

Special guard-dog squads were hired and barbed-wire emplacements set up to protect rolling stock in sheds and sidings.

Between 1972 and 1977 the police made over 1,500 arrests. The second generation of graffiti artists has long surfaced from illegality.

It works in studios and on different surfaces, retaining only the spraycan as a means of artistic expression.

A representative exhibition of their work can now be seen at the Wilhelm Hack Museum in Ludwigshafen.

The colour is nothing if not brilliant, so much so that much work by the *nouveaux sauvages* pales in comparison.

It is usually spread dynamically across the surface available, as in the large-format work of Anthony Clark with its whirls of colour, blues and reds, yellows and greens.

Colours mix dramatically, then subside into more peaceful sections. Stars burst and alternate with script, slabs of colour, sharply contoured arcs and lines, combining to convey the impression of a visionary frenzy.

The prevailing impression is one of motion, of currents flowing and thunder bolting, of long-tailed shapes zooming across the surface, seeking dialogue with short strokes and longer, almost ornamental patterns.

By no means all the graffiti artists on show in Ludwigshafen work spontaneously or are committed to the impulsive painterly gesture.

Stephen Piccirello, for instance, who styles himself Rammellzee, combines geometrical shapes to form an unreal world, a colourful adventure full of magic poetry.

The spheres and circles, spiral nebulas and blinking spots in Leonard McGurr's galactic landscapes are likewise carefully thought-out motifs kept under rational control.

That does them no harm at all. True, a number of paintings may lack the naive and carefree candour or the secrecy of nocturnal activity that were characteristic of the first graffiti artists.

Yet enough leeway remains in which to appreciate the constant contradiction between uncertain art and regimented life.

An amazing feature of nearly all works on show, most of them in large formats, is a sovereign sense of form, as evidenced by the blue *splinters* in Lonnie Murrow's "*Crystal Phase*" and the exciting figures sprayed by Lee Quinone.



Quinone's "Children of the Night," two young women reflected in car headlights against a background of illuminated skyscraper windows is one of the most striking works in the show, with its blurred outlines and prevailing blues, violets and greens.

The colours throughout are familiar, as are the objects. Yet taken out of context they are also strangely unaccustomed.

Reassuringly, visitors who take in all these tours de force with their deliberately exaggerated draughtsmanship will sense a touch of genuine emotion they can readily follow even though they may not find their way back entirely unmoved.

Even the occasional exhibits that carry less conviction suddenly seem justified, considering that neither art nor life would be bearable for long were it not for their failings and failures.

Alfred Huber

(Mannheimer Morgen, 19 September 1987)



She won't love me. Spraypaint on canvas, 1984. (Photo: Catalogue)

■ FILMS

Younger directors club together to put the flexibility back into rigidity

In 1962 in Oberhausen, 26 young film directors, producers and cameramen proclaimed war on the old West German cinema which was stubbornly refusing to give up the ghost. German cinema they said, "was dead."

Alexander Kluge, Edgar Reitz and Peter Schamoni were among them and then relatively unknown. Later they would gradually be looked upon as fathers of the young West German cinema. The proclaimation has become synonymous with a historical epoch.

The protagonists of new German cinema are now within that second cinema culture, which originated as a reaction to the first one, and have arrived now to a certain extent or else have found niches in popular films.

Today, whoever speaks of the new German cinema, swears that new directors only have it marginally better.

Sure they have the possibility of getting patronage from the former rebels. But it's a difficult thing to merge two generations of rebels. The older one is likely to kill off the younger.

Because of the stifling influence of older directors, Mathias Allary, Nico Hoffmann, Nicolas Humbert, Lutz Konermann, Werner Penzel, Jan Schütte and Christian Wagner, all independent film-makers founded a new film distribution company in the autumn of 1985. It was called *Der andere Blick* (The Other View).

The new company has shown 10 of its films in the Maxim cinema in Munich. This was the first opportunity these seven had had together to show what they can do. Up to this point in time, they had been known more or less to a small audience on the fringe festival circuit.

They believe that their films can offer the public the kind of experience that it is hungry for something fresh, something which looks at things from a different point of view. "They want films who draw on the imagination for intensity, and to have the courage to take risks and believe in ones own ability.

No coincidence

"Our films don't owe their existence to coincidence and it shouldn't be left to coincidence whether they are to be shown."

Admittedly this explanation does not have the range of the Oberhausen manifesto. The urgency of the young Munich directors - only one is above 30 - is above all to get their careers off the ground. Nevertheless they express an uneasiness which goes beyond individual interests and the usual artistic whining.

Der andere Blick is also a symptom of the difficulty in getting films shown. It shows how the situation really is for new independent directors. If they are not prepared to comply to the usual standards, then television often remains the only taker.

At the television studios they end up often working in little experimental playgrounds.

Admittedly the cinema is seen by some directors as a workshop for films which will later be shown on television anyway. But this has probably to do with the financial strength of television itself.

In 1971, Filmverlag der Autoren (The Filmstudio of Authors) was founded. Up to now it has been able to

Frankfurter Allgemeine

lay claim to being the reservoir from where new West German films come.

In future this claim might no longer be justified. Its members, who include Hark Bohm, Hans W. Geissendörfer and Wim Wenders, are not able to agree on a common vision.

The enterprise is being threatened by financial bottle-necks. And Rudolf Augstein's takeover in 1977, transformed the society, despite having the best intentions, into a quite ordinary distribution company. Actually after the recording of the American Orion Programme, German films drifted into a minority position.

With cinemas increasingly wanting to show Hollywood's award-winning films and new German ones being regarded as being somewhat unmarketable, one can see how this dashes more hope.

The cinemas have become the weakest link in chain of producing, directing, releasing and showing, for young film-makers. For the Oberhausen generation it was exactly the opposite.

Hollywood is today the decisive opponent of the independents. Its position has become allmighty and her way of making films is rigid and inflexible.

And it's precisely rigidity of this kind that the manifesto of Der andere Blick wishes to turn away from. Mathias Allary, of Der andere Blick, said, "It's most important for us to avoid just making commercial films."

"We must instead remain truthful to those about whom we are reporting, or to stories that we want to tell."

However truth costs money. And that adds up to subsidies. That particularly here in Oberhausen important preparatory work has been done, is due to a development with altogether dubious motives.

The trusteeship of Junger Deutscher Film subsidised the debuts of Werner Herzog or Johannes Schaaf and also gave DM30,000 to the Munich initiative, to cover advertising costs.

Together with all the other promotion groups, of which in the meanwhile the national and state level have become by far the most important, they succeeded in creating the foundations for petty quarreling to take place.

In the meantime it has become known that young directors whinge a lot when making the rounds for money. Cheques are used as paper towels to dry the tears. Der andere Blick group is sick of the intense individual competition which produces this sort ofbehaviour. The ordeal worsens the more directors graduate from the film schools. The system cannot cope with them all.

The Munich initiative would ideally like a company like the film authors one.

In order to get their films known, they travelled to about 25 German cinemas with their film package. In September of 1986 they offered their second batch.

Early this year, new authors turned to the grass-roots. The film-makers went on a tour of Goethe Institutes abroad.(The German equivalent of the British Council).

Afterwards communal cinema offered a complete show of their work in Frankfurt. They obviously feel that contact with the public is important and productive.

They dream of making it into non-subsidised cinemas. The museums and cultural facilities, in which they at present mostly play, are supposed to have a catalystic effect on their prospects.

In addition to that the cooperative has to get bigger. It has to be big enough to handle all the angles of the business and keep afloat.

As of yet there is no agreement about what themes they should be developing, let alone guidelines about which genre they should take.

Does the cooperative organisation only serve to connect the parity work and the distribution of money? It would seem that films have come about under intense circumstances, which often involve personnel financial risk. So the question of risk cannot be avoided.

Cash question

An important question is how are they going to keep their heads above water? Will public funds be enough? Do they intend to do less artistic but more financially rewarding work?

At present there is no general information available. Nicolas Humbert for example declines to do contract work at all. Lutz Konermann in contrast takes on television now and then. At the moment he is working on the soap opera *Lindenstrasse*.

To be in love with the cinema, either as main or supporting script-writer, has always been something like the love for a half-lost lover.

This contains no doubt a certain amount of false nostalgia, and that kind of cultural conservatism, which can strike one at any age.

Der andere Blick is a ray of hope.

Gregor Dotzauer

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 25 September, 1987)

The Great Cheese Conspiracy and other children's tales

It's not easy to define what children's films are. Are they films by children? For children? About children?

One thing remains quite certain. There were no films by children at the 13th children's film festival in Frankfurt.

But there were a lot of films by adults for and about children. They dealt with childhood and childhood experiences.

There were 14 entries from 12 countries. There were, in addition, a retrospective of Red Indian movies, special shows and other kinds of children's films which were shown at all hours of the day.

The productions were supposed to give an overview and broad spectrum of international films in the classical mode, fairytales, school and ghost films and eventually even those which were not even originally intended for children in the first place.

The broad scope of the festival blessed the public with a colourful mixture in art, genre, content and theme.

The cartoon film, *Die grosse Käseverschwörung* (The Great Cheese Conspiracy) or the East German contribution, *Das Schulgespenst* (The School Ghost) were highly amusing.

Sweden's *Seppan* was a different kind of film. It dealt with problems of the unfavourable living conditions of growing up in Seppen.

The Czech production, *Wer Angst hat, läuft davon* (Whoever is afraid runs away) was also a gloomy film. It told the story of a teacher who, several years af-



ter the war, tries to win the trust of a group of gypsies.

There was a shortage of West German films at this years festival. Only Haro Senft, the guru of German children's films, turned up with *Jakob hinter der blauen Tür* (Jacob behind the blue door), which is based on a novel of the same name by Peter Härtling.

It was a quiet film without much action and as a result did not go down with either public or jury. The acting lacked conviction. One young girl of the children's jury said there simply was not enough happening.

The children's jury comprised five members aged 11 and 12. They were more pleased with the Canadian contribution, *Bach and Broccoli*. This is a film which can be called, with a clear conscience, a children's film.

It is full of movement, it is funny and psychologically interesting. It's the story of an 11-year-old girl, who after an accident temporarily lives with her uncle after her parents die in a car accident.

But her self-confidence and imagination makes her dyed-in-the-wool bachelor uncle nervous.

As a result they often end up at each others throats. But despite that they learn to come nearer to each other. Despite some formal weaknesses it's a must for children's cinema.

The absolute favourite of the childrens jury was the the French production *Am Großen Weg*, which is now in the cinemas. It's a story of a shy nine year-old boy who spends his holidays in the countryside, where he at first does not feel at home.

He meets a girl of the same age who is a little more "mature." She gets on his nerves a lot. His life is made miserable by his argumentative hosts, who are reminded by him of their dead child.

He decides to kill himself and climbs to onto the roof of a church. Before he can jump he is rescued. Everything then turns out all for the better.

Apart from the story and the way it was made, what impressed the children most was the fact that the adults made up at the end.

The jury was impressed enough to award it the prize.

Christian Sorg

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 25 September 1987)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

For heaven's sake! Row develops over blue-angel seal of approval

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

Nearly 500 brands and varieties of paint made by 166 manufacturers carry the symbol of a blue angel. It is a seal of environmental quality.

It indicates that a brand of paint contains less dangerous solvent. The symbol is intended for a wide variety of products, yet half the angels so far awarded are used by paint manufacturers.

The symbol is not widely used for other products and there is a lot of debate about its value.

It can only be used by manufacturers whose products have been approved by an Environment Ministry panel of independent adjudicators.

The Environmental Protection Agency and the Quality Control Institute brief the panel. So the blue angel should be an undisputed seal of quality.

Consumer associations disagree. They say it can't be a seal of quality because it usually stands only for the lesser evil.

It means, for instance, that one variety of paint contains less dangerous solvent than another or that a spraycan contains no fluorochlorohydrocarbons that punch holes in the atmosphere's ozone shield.

What it does not indicate is that there are distemper paints that contain virtually no chemical solvents and that a totally harmless deodorant stick or roller can be used in place of a spray.

The situation is particularly grotesque in motoring. A car run on unleaded fuel cannot be environmentally OK: it is merely less harmful than one without a catalytic converter.

Yet an environmentally A1 pushbike can no more quality for a blue angel than a bucket of distemper because the regulations specify that products must, to qualify, be an environmental improvement on their competition.

Cars can hardly be said to compete with bicycles — or distemper to compete with conventional paint.

These are but a few reasons why the blue angel has been criticised of late, and consumer associations and industry are for once agreed.

Confederation of German Industry (BDI) experts feel there are better sources of information for the consumer, such as the *Warentest* Foundation's consumer reports, which have lately taken environmental ratings into account.

Standardised product information would also be handy, always assuming it was required to include details of environmental properties.

The angel in contrast merely leads to distortion of competition, industrial spokesmen say. Litigation in the pipeline certainly seems to bear out this claim.

At times prompter action does the trick, such as when a Japanese carmaker was threatened with litigation in connection with an advertising claim.

As the only carmaker in the German market to have applied for and been awarded a blue angel, it proclaimed: "We are the only car that is environmentally friendly." The slogan was quickly dropped.

Consumers associations are worried the blue angel symbol may mislead people into using products too carelessly, thereby boosting turnover rather than protecting the environment.

They say the EPA launched the symbol to encourage and accelerate alternative developments, which was fine. But if it was welcomed by manufacturers as an ideal promotional ploy, award procedures must be reconsidered.

Consumer associations have drawn up alternative criteria, such as that the emblem must only be awarded if a product definitely doesn't cause cancer or affect the genes.

It must, after all, mean that any health hazard is ruled out. The legend on the label ought to read: "environment-friendlier because . . ." and not "environment-friendly because . . ."

Greater care must be taken to ensure that award requirements are met.

A telephone answering service run by the Berlin consumer association recently advised consumers not to buy and use blue angel products unthinkingly.

The angel was merely an initial guide to help people to arrive at environmentally sound decisions in their consumer habits.

The Bonn Environment Ministry and the Berlin EPA will take a dim view of such advice. They are determined to defend the blue angel to the hilt.



Lots of greys in the blue-angel argument.

Christian Democrat Dieter Weirich was given a pointedly brief answer to a Bundestag query whether special award schemes were envisaged for products that had a particularly high environmental rating.

The blue angel, he was told, was intended to promote demand for particularly environment-friendly products. It had proved effective even though it was not awarded to products that were clearly unbeatable on this score, such as the pushbike.

There were other options for products such as these. Period.

Yet the Ministry has set up an informal study group to consider a revamp of the 10-year-old blue angel.

Findings have yet to be reached, but as parties to the talks include industry, the Monopolies Commission and consumer associations, a wide range of proposals can be expected to result in eventual changes.

It would certainly be a great pity if the little blue angel were to lose its halo in the long term. Put to the right use, it can still do the environment a power of good.

Fides Krause-Brewer

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 25 September 1987)

Spraycans: from fat into fire

Mannheimer MORGEN

The Frankfurt magazine *Öko-Test* warns against using F 22 gas as a substitute for the fluorochlorohydrocarbons F 11 and F 12 that are no longer to be used in spraycans because of the damage they do to the Earth's ozone layer.

F 22, also a fluorochlorohydrocarbon, does the ozone layer little damage but is suspected of causing cancer.

Manufacturers recently agreed to voluntarily dispense with fluorochlorohydrocarbons that damage the ozone layer as spraycan gas.

The magazine writes that this undertaking looks like being the "ecological flop of the year" if a carcinogen is to be used in place of the gas that punches a hole in the ozone layer.

A spokesman for the Federal Environmental Protection Agency, Berlin, has largely confirmed the substance of the magazine's allegations.

Given the destruction of the Earth's ozone layer the use of F 22 is "clearly preferable," but there are "justifiable grounds" for suspecting it of causing cancer.

Further tests are being carried out in view of this uncertainty.

Until 1985 F 22 was classified as a carcinogen in the MAK list of industrial toxins.

dpa

(Mannheimer Morgen, 24 September 1987)

Nitrosamines have joined the list of substances on the danger list. Nitrosamines are a group of neutral compounds characterised by the grouping NNO, organic compounds, some of them carcinogenic, that occur in tyre manufacture.

A government directive has been issued which means that protective steps need to be taken by firms using the substance. Among others, that means the tyre industry.

The practical upshot is that much of the German rubber industry will only be able to function in the meantime if it is exempted from the new regulations.

Cancer scare in tyre-making industry: laws toughened

Nitrosamines occur when natural rubber is processed into car tyres. Accelerators, chemical compounds ensuring that the rubber is hard, heat-resistant and abrasion-proof, are to blame.

"We have been aware of the problem since 1979," admits Friedrich Wille, works doctor at Continental, the Hanover tyre manufacturers. Nitrosamines occur "virtually whenever rubber is vulcanised."

In the past legal provisions have dealt merely with the additional substances and not with the process steam.

When measurements at the main Continental works in Hanover proved the existence of nitrosamines the works council and accident prevention officers called for higher research spending to combat the newly-identified health hazard.

A spokesman for the works council says subsequent measurements taken at the company's Korbach, Hesse, works showed similar concentrations of carcinogenic nitrosamines there too.

Statutory limits have yet to be laid down. No-one can say how high the concentration of these organic compounds, which also occur in food, must be to cause cancer.

"No-one knows for sure just where they come from at all," says a Kassel factory inspector.

"They occur when amines used in tyre manufacture are compounded with nitrous oxides in the air," says Dr Ursula Kliebisch of the Federal Labour Ministry. The new restrictions are premature, Conti's Dr Wille says. They came as a surprise even to the

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He was awarded the Knight's Cross for *this campaign*.

It was during the war that Ritter, like many in his generation, realised what ambivalence meant: to conscientiously carry out one's duties within a framework incompatible with one's conscience.

The philosopher inside of him summed up this experience as follows: "You can use logic to decide what is right and wrong, but not to decide the question of historical contingency."

Klaus Ritter has not written all that much himself, only a few articles which he admits are difficult to read.

He has brought his influence to bear in a more osmotic way by pushing open many an intellectual door and elaborating new concepts.

Ritter, for example, coined the term *systemöffnende Koexistenz* (literally: coexistence which opens up systems), a concept which is in common use today.

His main current concern is how strategic bipolarity can be maintained during the coming decades if at the same time the development of political structures in both parts of our divided continent are decoupled from this bipolarity.

He is also interested in the fate of the European Community: will it turn into a mere nation-state at a higher level or become a promising model of interdependent management?

In spring 1988 Ritter will be succeeded as director of the Ebenhausen institute by Michael Stürmer.

Ritter can then proudly claim to have established an institution which is respected throughout the world.

Theo Sommer

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 2 October 1987)

■ MEDICINE

Early diagnosis essential to cure glaucoma



Glaucoma was the main item on the agenda when German eye specialists met in Heidelberg for their first congress in September 1857.

This September, 130 years later, they were still very much concerned with glaucoma at their 85th annual conference, again held in Heidelberg.

"Glaucoma," said Professor Rolf Grewe, president of the German Ophthalmological Society, "is as dangerous as ever."

It is defined as high pressure inside the eye, sooner or later damaging the optical nerve and leading to loss of vision.

Causes can vary, ranging from a hereditary predisposition to changes associated with old age and from thickening of the lens or vitreous humour to a tumour.

In most cases, however, an imbalance in fluid exchange within the eye is to blame.

As a rule, fresh fluid is created in the eye and old fluid secreted in equal measure. Any upset can cause trouble.

A mist before the eyes or seeing coloured rings round light sources are first signs of glaucoma.

If the high pressure is not offset by suitable treatment, optical nerve cells die and the eye is blinded: either slowly or in a matter of days.

The slower version is particularly dangerous because the gradual loss of vision goes largely unnoticed, being compensated by the unimpaired vision of the other, healthy eye.

About 800,000 people in the Federal Republic of Germany suffer from glaucoma but only half of them are in treatment.

The latest methods of diagnosis and treatment are of no avail if glaucoma is not diagnosed in time, ophthalmologists said in Heidelberg.

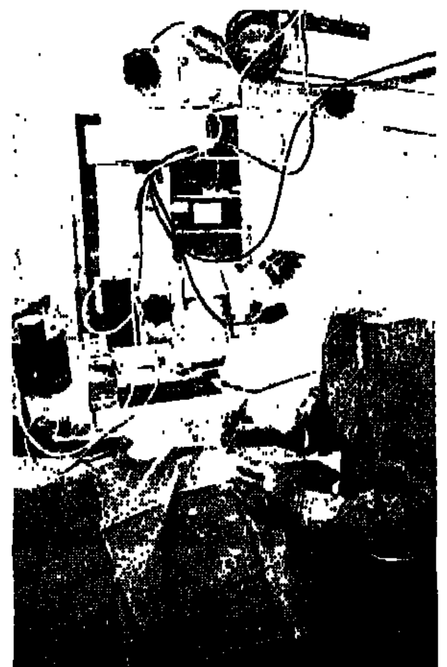
"Sixty-three per cent of glaucoma patients do not consult an ophthalmologist until a late stage when lasting damage has already been done," Professor Grewe said.

Eye specialists advise everyone over 40 to have their eyes tested at least every other year to rule out, as far as possible, the irrevocable consequences of this complaint.

Eye tests of the kind required can only be carried out in an ophthalmologist's surgery.

They include eye pressure measurements, tests of the optical nerves and of fields of vision.

Opticians also measure eye pressure, but ophthalmologists say these readings alone are not enough to say for sure whether the patient's sight is safe. Once high pressure is diagnosed as a first sign of glaucoma, a medical prescription is usually sufficient to relieve the pressure.



This eye-surgery microscope developed at Hanover University is controlled by spoken orders instead of foot pedals. (Photo: Thomas Deutschmann)

Specialists are now in a position to use lasers. Laser trabeculopuncture has the advantage of rectifying an obstruction to the outflow of fluid from the eye without surgery.

Surgery is, as a rule, most successful, being based on microsurgical techniques. Laser treatment may, in contrast, have to be repeated.

Either way, glaucoma need not mean inevitable loss of sight. Ophthalmogists wish the public, general practitioners and specialists would keep an eye open to ensure signs of glaucoma are spotted in good time to ensure successful treatment.

Ingeborg Bördlein

(Die Welt, Bonn, 24 September 1987)

Cancer scare

Continued from page 12

Land authorities that enforce the tyre regulations.

Conti immediately applied for exemption orders for their works. But *Land* officials are not entirely clear who is responsible.

Hesse, says Dr Walter of the Wiesbaden Welfare Ministry, has yet to issue general instructions.

Dr Wille says Conti will be looking into the problem next year. The company does not have enough specialist staff to do so immediately.

A number of rubber manufacturers are biding their time and turning a blind eye to the position. It is, he says, still in a state of flux.

Hugo Hayn of Conti's Korbach works simply says: "Without nitrosamines tyre manufacturers would have to shut down production tomorrow."

Leading research chemists with Conti say they should be able to take the edge off the problem in the next two to three years.

Laboratory trials and experiments make them feel confident the critical additives will be largely superfluous before long.

German Rubber Industry Association research projects have been launched with this aim in view.

"But it is clear that nitrosamines will not vanish entirely," Hayn says. Otherwise product quality would plummet.

Works councils are being bombarded with enquiries from anxious workmates.

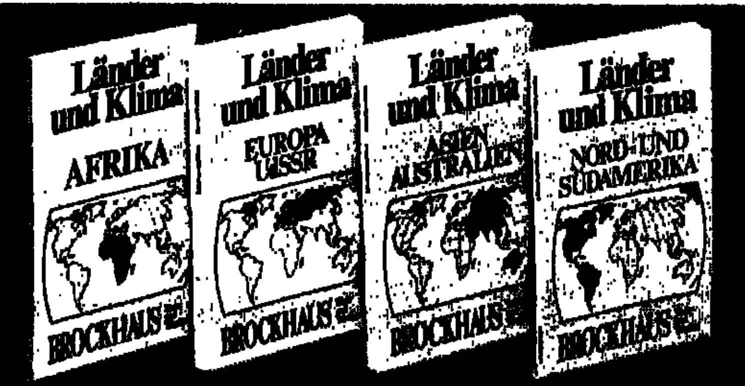
"Are the workers worried?" repeats a works councillor who specialises in industrial safety.

"How would you feel if you suddenly learnt that you had been exposed for years to substances that cause cancer?"

Günter Göge

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 20 September 1987)

Meteorological stations all over the world



supplied the data arranged in see-at-a-glance tables in these new reference works. They include details of air and water temperature, precipitation, humidity, sunshine, physical stress of climate, wind conditions and frequency of thunderstorms.

These figures compiled over the years are invaluable both for planning journeys to distant countries and for scientific research.

Basic facts and figures for every country in the world form a preface to the tables. The emphasis is on the country's natural statistics, on climate, population, trade and transport.

The guides are handy in size and flexibly bound, indispensable for daily use in commerce, industry and the travel trade.

Four volumes are available:

North and South America, 172 pp., DM 24.80;
Asia/Australia, 240 pp., DM 24.80;
Africa, 130 pp., DM 24.80;
Europe/USSR, 240 pp., DM 24.80



Look it up in Brockhaus

F. A. Brockhaus, Postfach 1709; D-6200 Wiesbaden 1

Heidelberg

Continued from page 10

Abram Louis Buvelot and Thomas Clark, both of whom were influential open-air painters in mid-19th century Australia.

Yet visitors will be mainly interested in the Heidelberg school, which included two women, Clara Southern and Jane Sutherland, among its ranks.

Like their male colleagues, they clearly set great store by finely emotive colours.

Romanticism still played an essential part in their work, as did the narrative aspect and the portrayal of everyday life.

From High Noon to Moonrise is McCaughey's characterisation of the range covered: from the glowing heat of summer to gentle moonlight, both of which may be viewed figuratively too.

Melancholy and the somewhat morbid mood of the "blue hour," a dim twilight, is typical of a number of exhibits, such as the work of David Davies, who had a soft spot for rainy landscapes, used a subdued colour range and was arguably the most modern painter of the Heidelberg school.

The narrative component of work by a school that had no real intention of setting out in a new direction in art is best embodied in the work of Tom Roberts, whose painting of Thunderbolt the robber takes up the tale of an Australian Robin Hood figure.

Arthur Streeton's very delicate work and Walter Withers' subtly illuminated landscapes are also characteristic of the Heidelberg school.

Two rooms feature watercolours and miniatures of identical motifs painted by different artists. There is also a show of historic photographs.

A final mention must be made of contemporary Australian art, about which just as little is known in Germany.

The youngest contemporary artist on show is Peter Booth, 47, with an apocalyptic landscape in unpleasant shades of yellow that testifies to the threat our world faces.

Arthur Boyd is represented by a dramatically glowing bush fire, Russell Drysdale by surrealistic work, Sidney Nolan, who represented Australia at the 1959 Documenta in Kassel, Hans Heysen by work in the Heidelberg tradition but arguably not up to the original standard and Fred Williams by radically reduced eucalyptus trees.

Between them they are a limited but possibly representative cross-section of contemporary Australian painting.

An excellent bilingual catalogue deals at length with the Heidelberg school, its antecedents and its successors.

It is lavishly illustrated, contains a useful bibliography and is the first-ever German-language publication on Australian art.

The catalogue heightens the exhibition's cultural history dimension.

Heide Seele

(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 11 September 1987)

■ HORIZONS

Hardware seized in raid on hacker-club premises

Police last week swooped on several houses in Hamburg and removed a quantity of documents and hardware. The confiscated material is being used as part of an investigation into a series of "hacking" cases involving the computer networks of two big organisations — the European organisation for nuclear research in Switzerland and the French branch of the electrical firm Philips. The houses raided were occupied by members of the Hamburg-based Chaos Computer Club, which is suspected of being responsible for hacking into the computer network of Nasa, the American space research authority. Thomas Ammann looks at the club, which maintains that its activities are all for the public good, for the *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt*.

Computer experts had warned that the huge Digital Equipment computer system used by Nasa, the American space research authority, had holes big enough to drive a juggernaut through.

And so it seemed: a German hacker has managed to get into 20 separate installations in Nasa's Span (Space Physics Analysis Network) network.

Nasa quickly said that the hackers had not seen any secret data, but this seems a little difficult to believe in view of the military significance of space-research information. It should soon become clear if Nasa's reaction was too hasty.

As teams of experts go to work behind the scenes finding out exactly which areas the pirates got into, which data banks they hit and if data has been altered or destroyed, the identity of the hacker or hackers remains a mystery.

No one, however, was surprised when two members of the Hamburg Chaos Computer Club (CCC) stepped in with some comments. Wau Holland and Steffen Wernery said they suspected the offender was based somewhere in Hamburg.

Whenever the doings of hackers have hit the headlines over the past few years, CCC members have usually been involved. At the beginning of 1984, the computer world was beginning to ask itself the hacking phenomenon making itself felt in America would become a problem in Germany as well.

It was at this time that Holland, a former student of informatics, founded CCC and, at the same time, the club magazine, *Datenschleuder* (Data Catapault) which declared that the club was a "galactic association without a firm structure" and which outlined the club's aims in terms of opening up a new form of human rights where data could be exchanged with no controls whatsoever between all peoples and "other intelligent forms of life."

Ever since, these freaks have been working away at their self-imposed task of testing computer systems for security. They operate with enormous self-confidence, stemming from an at times impressive amount of specialist knowledge and they see themselves as the mouthpieces for the hacker movement.

At a data-protection exhibition in the autumn of 1984, Holland demonstrated how, using a doctored junction box connected to a German post office Bildschirmtext (the German version of videotex, an information service using a television screen) system, information could be acquired but the costs passed on to other subscribers.

At the time, Holland said: "Hacking is now routine. It is a creative, practical and irreverent way of dealing with a complicated form of technology."

In November 1984, the club won international attention by demonstrating how a bank could be robbed electronically using the Bildschirmtext system.

It said that "a fault in the system" had enabled it to find out the secret codeword for a local Hamburg savings bank, the Hamburger Sparkasse, itself a Bildschirmtext subscriber.

Using the codeword, club hackers gained access to the bank's data and arranged for 135,000 marks to be transferred to them — except that they said afterwards that they didn't want the money. They said they had acted only to draw attention to faults in the system.

At first, the head of the Sparkasse board, Benno Schölermann, expressed his admiration and the people responsible for the network admitted that there had been a fault.

But then the suspicion grew that the codeword had not been made known to the hackers through a fault in the system but had simply been found out during a public display by the bank of the Bildschirmtext system.

The affair finally came to an end in January 1986 when the federal commissioner for data protection declared with some generosity that a fault in the system could not, in exceptional circumstances, be ruled out. So the Chaos team had its blaze of publicity.



Nothing to do with us, hackers Wernery (left), Holl[...] and Schrutzki told police. (Photo: [...])

Its declared aims are to educate system operators and users to operate responsibly. But that doesn't win them only friends. Klaus Brunnstein, a professor of informatics, asked after the Sparkasse case if it could be ruled out that the club had not in other cases obtained cash by criminal means. Although there is no evidence that the club has done anything criminal, data-protection experts accuse it of unwittingly opening the way for economic criminals and industrial spies.

That danger was a contributory factor in making hacking prosecutable under a law governing economic crime. Getting access to, altering and deleting information in other people's computers is now punishable with three years jail.

The CCC now has 80 members. At the annual conference in Hamburg, the Chaos Communication Congress, attended by 400 hackers, annoying problems such as computer viruses, those notorious programmes which can cripple computers, are discussed.

The CCC also says it is the authority on the "alternative" use of computers. Some members belong to a work group which wants to develop a computer-steered surveillance network for nuclear power stations.

Others are working on a study for the Bonn parliamentary faction of the Greens which will suggest ways of using computers in ways that are socially tolerable.

In the case of Nasa, the club sees itself as having a role as a go-between between the firm, Digital Equipment, the victim institute of the hacking, and the hackers.

Wernery: "They wanted only to see what they could turn on. When they saw where they had got to, they began to be afraid."

The CCC has offered to help get rid of the bug in the system. Perhaps it's an offer that Nasa and Digital Equipment should accept. Because it seems that the best of the experts are the hackers.

Thomas Ammann
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 27 September 1987)

Age no bar to learning about computers, says institute

RHEINISCHE POST

Most Germans regard computer technology as being something for younger people. Those over 50 don't feel themselves able to start learning all about hard- and software.

This is an opinion widely held by employers: computers in offices are mainly manned by younger people. Often, older employees are kept away from the new technology in the belief that they are too old to learn.

A study group in Marburg is trying to show that this common belief is wrong. In Frankfurt, it is running the first computer seminar for men and women aged between 50 and 75.

Eleven are taking the first of the courses. All of them had previously made efforts to avoid the new technology. It had dented their confidence in themselves, the belief that they could not handle the technology.

Their motivation was on various grounds. A few were employed and wanted to learn the basics so it would no longer be a mystery; the majority, however, were into pension age but were regretting not having any idea about it.

One 65-year-old woman said: "After all, you come across computers everywhere, in banks, travel agencies, in supermarkets, a book shops and toy shops. It was too dumb to know less about what was happening than my grandchildren."

Specialists have known it for a long time: the only difference between older and younger people is that the younger have fewer prejudices about the new technology.

They don't think, as the older people tend to do, that they cannot master it.

Rainer Schröter works at the Marburg centre and is the seminar head. He says the aim is to eliminate the fears.

Each pupil gets his or her own computer and is taken carefully through the mysterious workings of it. Fundamental terminology is explained, how the keyboard operates and computer English is explained.

They are taken through the steps of using floppy discs and storing information. Programming is made easier to understand.

The secrets of the computer are revealed in small steps and it is learned how the apparatus takes notice of certain orders.

Schröter said at the end of the seminar that he was satisfied with what had been achieved. All participants had taken the first major hurdle in their stride and were happy that they had managed to dispel their inhibitions and fears.

One pensioner said: "It is the same situation that our parents faced when electricity was introduced. At first they were afraid but then they learned how to handle the new-fangled thing."

According to a survey, almost half of Germans questioned said they had not seen a computer. And half of those had no intention of looking at one.

This basic lack of knowledge was shown in the fact that only 26 per cent of a sample of 2,000 people questioned knew that the English word "basic" belongs to computer terminology.

In addition, 72 per cent did not know how a computer works and 65 per cent could not say what component parts normally go to make up a computer.

Schröter says that it is important that the Marburg centre manages to wake the interest of as many people as possible in the new technology so that they are motivated enough to take part in training courses. It was still an exploratory period and the centre had only made a start.

There were plans to expand. In the future, there were expected to be regular computer courses for older people. Schröter hopes that the example of the centre will prompt other institutions to run similar courses.

The first seminar appears to have been a success for all participants.

Dr Dagmar Müller, one of the course heads, said everybody had learned from everybody else and had all got plenty of ideas about how to develop such courses to interest older people and so that the maximum amount of information could be imparted in the time available.

Proof of the pudding is in the eating. One participant, a former mathematics teacher, wants to do another course as soon as possible.

Sigrid Latka-Jöhring
(Rheinische Post, Dusseldorf, 22 September 1987)



■ SOCIETY

Why, for a drum roll and a shriek, can't adults give children an even break?

Saarbrücker Zeitung

The central character in Günter Grass' novel, *The Tin Drum*, is a small boy called Oskar who does everything in his power to stop growing up.

Many children would find his attitude puzzling because so many of them would like to be adults. But, because they are children, they would like to have power of Oskar's scream, the scream that could shatter windows if anybody forced him to do anything against his will.

It was the sort of force needed on United Nations' world children's day to draw attention to its inadequacy. The children could have shrieked out against the mental and physical cruelty that millions of children all over the world have to endure.

They could have beaten the drum, just like Oskar, with ever more intensity, ever louder and ever faster to protest against the hunger and poverty in the world and its toll — each day, 40,000 children die as a result in the Third World.

They would shriek against the fact that in West Germany, 400 children are die and 10,000 are seriously injured in traffic accidents.

They would do a drum roll against the injustice of the babies who each year are abandoned, against the children in homes who have suffered psychological damage after being given away for adoption; or against those 300,000 each year who are sexually abused; or those who have been infected with Aids.

The screams would be loud enough to shatter the windows of the luxury houses belonging to many a politician who has failed to take steps to do something and provide more living space so that children do not become so readily the victims of aggression.

Politicians keep insising that children are the guarantors of the future, but the children might wonder at the value of this observation when they see that it is assessed at a mere 175 marks a month for each child under the age of seven as social welfare money.

World children's day was like the year of the child in 1979: it was all something that existed only on paper.

If it hadn't been, if the children had been there with their drums and their piercing cries, they would have made a point against stubborn town planners who just refuse to see that even the most attractive traffic-free zone or the nicest, neatest, best-kept lawns are no substitute for areas where children can kick a ball around without necessarily being supervised all the time.

They would also probably ask what sense it made having special low-speed limits in residential streets when there is no one around to make sure the limit is kept to. And they could add to that that there is no shortage of officers running round checking parking meters.

Children would point out on the subject of education that pressure and stress do not inevitably produce increased performance. A more inevitable result is a rash of psychological problems and a refusal by some children to learn.

Children could hire lawyers to represent their interests to make sure they are not assaulted by parents within the anonymity of the family.

Most parents love their children, of course, but many could demonstrate it more in their daily contact with them.

Children would be able to complain more if only they were more articulate. But because they aren't, and because they don't have a piercing shriek like Oskar, they will continue to stand unnoticed with their mute list of demands for more attention, patience and love.

The fact is that society has become too materialistic. Families which can afford material things too often use their money badly: for example, furnishing children's bedroom thoughtlessly and buying expensive and worthless toys.

Children in such families grow used to having the television set as a babysitter. Too often, material things are used as substitutes for time and affection.

Politicians have no immediate fears that organisations representing children's interests, of which there are several, will cause them to lose votes. All they need to do is counter such lobbies by pointing out that social advances have already been achieved — just look at the child allowance, maternity allowance and education support grants.

However, people should not attempt to leave everything to the state. After all, it can only lay the foundations for a more friendly attitude towards children. Children will only be better treated if people take the time and make the effort to think about the grievances that children have, the arrogance with which they are often treated.

Every individual person has to consider also whether they want to be a part of defending the West German title, "Low Birthrate World Champion."

The problems must be approached with imagination and with a naturalness so that our children will follow the example.

For we protect our children and show them how people should behave. They take their example from us.

In turn, our children will have to give and example to their children and so on and so on. So the importance of what we do cannot be overestimated.

Gerhard Klotz
(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 23 September 1987)

Single-parent families on the increase

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

The number of single-parent families is increasing. According to Ministry of Family Affairs statistics, 1.76 single men and women are on their own bringing up families of one child or more.

There are 127,000 single-parent families in Baden-Württemberg alone. Single- parent families comprised 9 per cent of all families in the State in 1976. This had risen to 13 per cent by 1985.

The Minister, Rita Süssmuth, says it is becoming increasingly difficult for single parents to combine family and job. A report just published says that a third of single mothers fear that their jobs are causing their children problems.

Divorced women especially, says the report, say their children are having problems with their education.

Many mothers are becoming socially isolated because of their situation. A quarter of those questioned, both men and women, said they regarded their lives as not having been up to expectations. Many would like a 30-hour week. This would give them enough time to spend with their children. It would also help them to get over the awkward problem of school opening and closing times, which are often not convenient for parents working normal working hours.

Difficult situations are, says the report, often complicated by lack of money and a guilty conscience. It says half the mothers have to make do with a net income of 1,400 marks a month. Nation-wide, 190,000 women — 11.5 per cent of the nation's single mothers — receive the main part of their income from the State. Most of these mothers are just as likely to be divorced women as single women.

In Baden-Württemberg, 45 per cent of single mothers are divorced. There are 150,000 unmarried and widowed mothers living alone in the *Land* and 9,000 unmarried mothers are younger than 20.

Nation-wide, there are 274,000 single fathers, 20,400 in Baden-Württemberg. The figures for unmarried couples are inexact, but it is thought that 7 per cent of mothers and 25 per cent of fathers are living with a partner.

Unemployment is rife among unmarried mothers — 20 per cent. But more than half do have jobs, a third part-time.

By comparison, 65 per cent of divorced mothers are employed. Fourteen per cent admitted giving up work because of difficulty in finding a suitable place where the children could be looked after.

Many mothers are getting financial support from their families. A third of divorced women interviewed complained that as a result, their was family interference in what they felt to be their private sphere.

Frau Süssmuth wants a general improvement for single parents. Specifically, having examined the study, she wants greater flexibility in working hours and more facilities for child day care.

Georg Weisenberger
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 12 September 1987)

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